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Pact Group Discusses International Issues

LD122036 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—The multilateral group of mutual current information of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty met here Nov. 11-12 to exchange views on some current international issues.

The participants in the meeting met with general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, Poland's Foreign Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek.

BRIEFS

CEMA Plant Quarantine Consultation

Budapest, November 6 (MTI)—Senior specialists and directors of the plant protecting quarantines of the CMEA member countries held a consultation in Budapest from November 2 to 6. The delegation were informed of the state of plant protection in the various countries and adopted recommendations for the standardization of control methods applied in the plant protecting quarantines. The participants decided to accelerate the development of environmentally sound processes and, beside chemical protection, use the biological methods more extensively. [Text] */Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 6 Nov 87 LD/*

Hungarian Expert Views U.S.-USSR Treaty
LD120422 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2120 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Interview with "disarmament expert" Dr Istvan Koermendi by correspondent Istvan Kulcsar; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kulcsar] I think we can say with some degree of finality now that General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will sign an agreement on eliminating short- and medium-range missiles in Washington at the start of December. Presumably, they will also make progress toward other important disarmament accords. We have talked a great deal recently about the degree to which this is advantageous to the Soviet Union, and the degree to which it benefits the world in general and the cause of peace. But why is this advantageous to the United States? Clearly, it must be very favorable to the United States, if the present U.S. Administration has gone for it. However, the composition of the Reagan administration has changed in the past 7 years. It is still one of the most conservative governments, if not the most conservative of the 20th century, which started off with arms, arms, and more arms, and did not want to hear of disarmament accords with the Soviet Union. And yet it has now agreed to it.

[Koermendi] Such an arms agreement can only be envisaged on the basis of mutual interest, that is, the interest of the United States and the Soviet Union. These interests can be shown in military and political terms equally, on both sides, even if they are not necessarily the same.

On the military side, the strategic stability of both sides will be strengthened if these short-range missiles, which give only a few minutes' warning, are moved outside Europe.

[Kulcsar] Let's clarify that. In this context, warning time means that the missiles are in flight for a total of 8-10 minutes, and only a fraction of this is warning time. So, by the time they notice a missile, it is at the target.

[Koermendi] It takes only 8 to 10 minutes for a missile to reach its target. Thus, this reduces warning time to impossibility, impossible from the point of view of political decisions. Thus, I think it was in the interest of both sides that these weapons, which threaten strategic stability, be eliminated.

As for political factors, there may be a greater difference. In other words, the asymmetry between Soviet and U.S. interests is greater. It is obvious, or rather, generally known that the United States, the Reagan administration, would like to sign some kind of arms reduction agreement, so that President Reagan will not conclude his two terms of office without some sort of significant foreign policy achievement.

America's political interest in concluding an agreement has also been increased by the fact that this opens the way to a strategic arms accord that can hopefully be attained next year and talks on a 50-percent cut in strategic weapons.

[Kulcsar] That will be the next subject at the summit, but let us stay with medium-range missiles. You mentioned asymmetry. How many such missiles, or warheads, warheads and missiles that have been deployed, do the United States and the Soviet Union actually have?

[Koermendi] On the Western, NATO side, some 420 missiles would be dismantled, and 660 on the Soviet side. Now, what they emphasize on the Western side, proving how advantageous this accord is for them, is the number of warheads. Since Soviet missiles, primarily the SS-20's, have more than one warhead, the ratio of warheads that would be dismantled is thus around 1 to 3.

[Kulcsar] So the Soviet Union would dismantle, eliminate, three times as many warheads on these missiles as the United States.

[Koermendi] The ratio of delivery vehicles is around 1 to 1, but on warheads, which is the other important category in this agreement, they would clearly be dismantled in a ratio of about 1 to 3, 1 to 3 and 1/2.

[Kulcsar] What about symmetry, or asymmetry, in strategic offensive weapons? They want to agree on a 50-percent reduction. According to present plans, this would be worked out by the first half of next year, and may be signed during Reagan's visit to Moscow. At any rate, talks on this are under way.

[Koermendi] In the talks on strategic arms limitation, they are talking about restrictions on three major weapons: land-based intercontinental missiles, submarine-based missiles, and strategic bombers. The amount of these, on both sides, totals 2,000, something over 2,000.

As for warheads, the number on the Soviet side is 10,000, something over 10,000. The number of U.S. warheads is 13,000...

[Kulcsar, interrupting] There is some dispute about how they are deployed.

[Koermendi] Here, it is not so much the numerical difference between the two strategic arsenals that is the problem, but, due to a series of technological and geographical reasons, the ratio of the three elements in the two arsenals, the ratio of the three classes of weapons, is very different on both sides. For example, the Soviet Union has many more land-based missiles. The United States relies more on submarine-based missiles. Thus, in the course of talks, a solution acceptable to both sides must be found. Such an answer must take account of the difference in the internal ratios of the two arsenals and balance restrictions so that the two arsenals are affected

in a roughly equal way. This agreement means nothing more than a 50-percent reduction in the strategic threat, that is, the threat posed by strategic nuclear weapons, which the Soviet [word indistinct] weapons mean to the United States, and American weapons represent to the Soviet Union. As a result, both sides are strongly interested in bringing about this agreement.

[Kulcsar] Despite this, I am not so optimistic. Even if they sign the accord, we will see if they can get it through the U.S. Senate easily. If only we were at that stage. At any rate, it seems that these will be the first agreements where it is not just an increase of some sort of weapon that will be banned, but that, in fact, a very great number of weapons will be dismantled and eliminated, that is, the amount of existing nuclear weapons will be significantly reduced.

However, what is striking, particularly in medium-range missiles, is that the Soviet Union is dismantling and eliminating somewhat more weapons and carriers than the United States. Will this not threaten the USSR's security, or, to put it another way: Does it not violate the principle of equal security on which the Soviet Union has always insisted?

[Koermendi] Since there are a total of about 50,000 nuclear weapons stockpiled by both sides, if there is an agreement, for example, on the elimination, destruction of medium-range missiles, which requires one side to destroy a somewhat larger number of carriers and warheads, this does not mean that the general parity between them has been upset. Nor does it mean that the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact would be placed at a disadvantage in terms of security. In general, as far as nuclear weapons are concerned, one can say that the present balance between the two great powers, the two alliances—in relation to all nuclear missiles—has been created on such a high level that certain divergencies in an agreement on a smaller category will not affect parity as a whole. This difference, that is, the fact that the Soviet Union would destroy somewhat more carriers and warheads, means that the Soviet Union was more flexible.

[Kulcsar] And more flexible than before.

[Koermendi] Clearly, for the Soviet positions have changed to a significant degree during the talks, and, in the end, made this agreement possible. However, the accord in principle on medium-range missiles, which will hopefully be signed in its final form on 7 December, represents a breakthrough. It opens the way politically, in equal terms for the Soviet Union and the United States, for an agreement on limiting strategic offensive weapons, that is, for the strengthening of the [word indistinct] missile agreement.

Paper Criticizes SFRY on Balkan Conference

AU111433 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 11 Nov 87

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, Nov 11 (ATA)—Today, the newspaper *Zeri I Popullit* carries the article entitled "The Balkan Conference and Belgrade's Anti-Albanian Provocations" which says:

The progressive international public opinion received with interest and hailed the announcement of Albania's participation in the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. To this testify numerous comments and articles of the world press, that appreciate Albania's endeavours to create an atmosphere of understanding and mutual confidence among the countries of the peninsula.

Normally it was expected that this decision of the Albanian Government be also understood and appreciated correctly in Yugoslavia, as an initiator of this meeting. But unfortunately, it is not happening like this. The Yugoslav press is making everyday "analyses" not to prepare the proper atmosphere for the coming meeting, but to provoke Albania and attack its correct and principled policy.

The Yugoslav newspapers and magazines, *Borba, Politika, Nin,* etc., and others are doing the same these days. Hence, on the one hand, special federal police units are being sent in Kosovo and the repressive measures and restrictions of the autonomy of the Albanians in Yugoslavia are deepening, on the other hand, the anti-Albanian propaganda is being intensified through mass media resorting to all kinds of slanders against the PSR of Albania. They cannot be a coincidence, just as one cannot consider as such the interview granted by Lazar Mojsov, chairman of the presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* where he deemed it proper to justify the grave situation in Kosovo by attacking Albania. The question rightfully arises: Is this the spirit of confidence and good understanding the Yugoslav claim? Does the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries need such an atmosphere?

Belgrade's stands, at least concerning the relations with Albania are paradoxal, acts that ran contrary to what is said.

One can think that the causes that made the journalists sharpen their pens, and turn them into poisonous arrows against our country are numerous. The first cause everyone thinks of, is the need to create an external enemy, that would be responsible if not for all the evils that have been befallen on Yugoslavia at present, at least for the situation in Kosovo. One may also think that it is a reaction towards the article of our newspaper that denounced the dispatch of police units in Kosovo and that applied the proper name to these acts.

Perhaps, did they in Belgrade expect us to approve such an act, which is being condemned by the whole public opinion as dangerous, as an act aiming at suppressing and curtailing the rights of the Albanians and that constitutes a danger to peace and security in the Balkans and elsewhere?

It clearly follows that the main thing in this anti-Albanian propaganda, that is filling the pages of the Yugoslav press, is the coming Balkan meeting. As seen there are certain circles in Belgrade that do not want Albania to attend this meeting. That is why they vent their spleen on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and want to impose on us how to behave and what stands to adopt.

No more no less, the Belgrade press wants from us to change our policy, give up Enver Hoxha, reconcile with the Yugoslav viewpoints. To put it gently, these are very megalomanic claims.

It is long-since known that ideological divergences exist between Albania and Yugoslavia. Both sides uphold divergent views regarding many questions. Ideologically we are against self-administration, proclaimed as socialism of the time. We uphold a critical viewpoint towards the Yugoslav society, its political and economic system, the social order the Yugoslavs advertise as an example. The Yugoslavs too do not sympathize with our order, on the contrary they unreservedly criticize us.

Therefore, they in Belgrade must not wonder that self-administration or the existing order in Yugoslavia in our books and encyclopedias are explained in compliance with our convictions. We do the same for the capitalist and bourgeois order, while, denouncing the exploitation of the working class and national oppression, while speaking against Soviet social imperialism and revisionism, etc. We do neither want nor claim that this be to the liking of the Yugoslavs, but we will not change our views as they do not like them. [sentence as received]

In the focus of the attacks on the Yugoslav press at present is again Comrade Enver Hoxha's book *The Titoites.* They condemn and curse this book as it describes events and mentions documented historical facts that fully throw light on the anti-Albanian policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership from the National Liberation War on.

This book contains nothing invented. If anyone wants let him read Djilas, one of former Tito's closest collaborations during war, and he will see how the Yugoslav leadership reckoned accounts since in Jajce to include Albania in the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th republic. Precisely with these plans are linked the interventions of Yugoslav emmisaries during war, the events of Berat

1944, the plots with Koci Xoxe, the whole policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership towards Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes of in the book *The Titoites*.

The Belgrade press wonders that this book circulates in Albania. But it has only historic truths and every Albanian must know the historic truths. The more so today there are circles in Yugoslavia that dream of the old dreams.

The Belgrade press wants that we Albanians forget the past, deny history. According to it, our historians should not say that predecessors of Albanians are the Illyrians, no one should speak of the Albanian League of Prizren and of the fact that in 1913 Albania was truncated as a result of the imperialist treaties. If we speak of these things, according to it we are chauvinists, have territorial claims, are for "Big Albania", etc., etc. absurdities of the kind. But the Belgrade press forgets that those unjust treaties were publicly denounced by great Lenin, that Albania's truncation has been also condemned by the Serb social democracy and Tukovic.

Albania has never and never does harm to anybody. We want relations of good-neighbourliness, but not by denying history and the less so distorting it. We want to say one thing more to the Belgrade newspapers: History in our country is taught neither to arouse chauvinist sentiments, nor to cherish hatred for the other peoples, but to draw lessons, so that our people be vigilant if they hear from wherever and anyone the voices of the past, if they observe the old acts, if any one judges from old mentalities.

Peace will be achieved in the Balkans if good bilateral relations will be established among the Balkan countries, if they give up the mentality of dictate and provocations. We hope that the meeting of foreign ministers as well will serve this aim. We do not go to Belgrade to propaganda aims. We will go there because we judge that tranquillity must prevail in the Balkans and that sincere relations and not tension and ill will must exist among neighbours. [passage omitted]

Trade Unionists Depart for Syria

AU100802 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 10 (ATA)—At the invitation of the International Arab Trade Unions Confederation, a delegation of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, headed by the secretary of this council, Abdyl Pilafi, left on a friendly visit to Damascus.

Atanasov Receives Hungarian Deputy Premier
AU121442 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Frigyes Berecz, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, who is in Bulgaria for the 22d session of the Bulgarian-Hungarian Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation.

Stress was laid on the important role played by the decision of the 43d CEMA session on enriching bilateral cooperation through new forms of interaction, direct links, joint ventures, and joint entry into third-country markets. It was emphasized that this will give a fresh impetus to the cooperation between Bulgaria and Hungary in the economic, scientific, and technical fields.

The meeting was also attended by Comrade Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the commission.

Cooperation Session Opens
LD122057 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia, Nov 12 (MTI)—The 22nd session of the Hungarian-Bulgarian Economic and Technical and Scientific Cooperation Commission opened Thursday in Sofia. The Hungarian negotiating delegation is led by Deputy Prime Minister Frigyes Berecz, the Bulgarian by Andrey Lukanov, minister of external economic relations, the co-chairmen of the commission.

The sides are to examine implementation of the economic tasks arising from the prime ministerial agreements, the implementation of the goods turnover estimates for this year, and the opportunities to extend these. They are to turn particular attention to exploring new opportunities for production cooperations between the two countries.

During the day Frigyes Berecz met Georgi Atanasov, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Doynov Returns From Moscow Working Visit
AU122136 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Doynov has returned from a brief working visit to the Soviet Union. He met in Moscow with Ivan Silayev, Aleksey Antonov, and Lev Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as with Vladimir Velichko, the Soviet minister of heavy, power machine, and transport machine building. [title as heard]

Comrade Ognyan Doynov visited the Avtomash and [word indistinct] Machine-Building Plant.

The possibilities of expanding cooperation between the two countries in the field of heavy machine building were explored as well.

Aleksandrov, GDR Official View Restructuring
AU130739 Sofia BTA in English 2011 GMT 12 Nov 87

["Development of Fruitful Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Nov 12 (BTA)—The delegation of GDR's Democratic Peasants' Party headed by its chairman, Mr Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the Council of State, was received today by Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP CC. He briefed his guests on the most important tasks related to Bulgaria's socio-economic development and the process of restructuring in all fields of life. These tasks stem from the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP CC plenum of last July.

The guests were received by Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the BCP CC and chairman of the National Assembly, who informed them about the growing role of parliament and its standing commissions within the framework of the restructuring process.

The delegation was received by Mr Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the BCP CC and president of the National Council of the Fatherland Front organization who spoke about this biggest mass organization's role in the further construction of socialism.

The participants in the talks noted the great significance for the development of the fruitful fraternal relations between Bulgaria and the GDR of the recent meeting between Mr T. Zhivkov and Mr E. Honecker in Sofia. They commended the importance of the agreements on the further development of the bilateral cooperation reached at this meeting.

Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first deputy president of the State Council, and Mr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party and deputy chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, signed a protocol for cooperation between their two parties for the 1988-1990 period. The measures envisaged in the protocol will help strengthen the unity of the agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in the name of peace, security and international understanding.

A joint announcement on the visit was released.

Khristov Meets With Greek Economic Official

AU121907 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 12 Nov 87

["Bulgaria, Greece Broaden Economic Ties"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Nov 12 (BTA)—The Bulgaro-Greek economic interaction is developing dynamically but still lags behind the political relations. This was a conclusion drawn today by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of trade of Bulgaria, and Mr Ioannis Papandoniou, deputy minister of national economy of Greece. This is one of the reasons why the discussions during the 13th session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial and Techno-Scientific Cooperation centered on the new and most advanced forms of economic cooperation. The two countries will set up joint enterprises and marketing ventures and will exchange technologies. The most promising fields in which they will assist each other are electronics, the production of communications equipment, processing of agricultural produce, and light industry. Joint enterprises will be set up to operate in these fields.

The bilateral trade exchange has also risen. It is mainly made up of chemicals, metals, mechanical engineering goods and agricultural products. Eight joint trading societies have been set up in Greece.

The economic reforms in Bulgaria facilitate the further development of the trade and economic cooperation, Mr Papandoniou told a BTA reporter. He announced that a special symposium on this topic will be organized in Greece next year.

Mr Papandoniou was received today by Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov.

The participants in this meeting expressed the Bulgarian and Greek business circles' interest in broadening the bilateral cooperation. They discussed the possible adoption of new forms of interaction, such as the setting up of joint enterprises and industrial cooperation.

Stoichkov Receives UK Transport Secretary

AU121911 Sofia BTA in English 1709 GMT 12 Nov 87

["Cooperation in Transport"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Nov 12 (BTA)—Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr David Mitchell, UK secretary of state for transport.

During the talk the two sides discussed questions of mutual interest and expressed satisfaction over the good condition of the relations in the sphere of transport. Special attention was paid to the possibilities for development of the cooperation, especially in the sphere of railroad transport, transport construction and the application of automation in different fields of this branch. The sides pointed out the presence of favourable conditions for joint construction of small-size enterprises for railroad technology. The two sides were unanimous that the activation of transport relations between the two countries would assist the broadening of tourist exchange.

Regulations for Duty-Free Zones Detailed

AU121426 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Nov 87 p 2

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO report: "More Details on Duty-Free Zones"]

[Text] Issue No 86 of the *State Gazette* on 6 November 1987 published a code on the application of Decree 2242 concerning our country's duty-free zones.

Let us give some details:

Duty-free zones are created to encourage economic initiative in the production of goods and the performance of services. They are also designed to promote trade and other activities necessary to increase and diversify exports, and to achieve positive results in terms of currency. The goal here is to accelerate national economic development while observing Decree 2242 of 1987.

Production, trade, and other economic activities can be conducted in duty-free zones by foreign legal bodies and individuals, as well as by Bulgarian trade organizations in association with foreign legal bodies and individuals.

All payments connected with economic activities in duty-free zones are to be made in convertible currency under the terms of free-trade agreements between the two sides at their own expense and on their own responsibility. A separate enterprise is to be established for the organization and management of every duty-free zone. Workers and specialists with Bulgarian citizenship who are required for work in duty-free zones are to be recruited and placed at the disposal of the respective employers of the enterprise in charge of the management of the given duty-free zone on a contract basis. The wages for workers and specialists in the zone are determined on the basis of labor contracts.

Payments between the enterprise responsible for the duty-free zone and Bulgarian economic organizations, as well as Bulgarian citizens, are to be made in Bulgarian leva. This does not apply to those cases in which the minister of foreign economic relations determines the conditions under which Bulgarian economic organizations sort, label, package, pre-package, store, and protect export goods.

USSR's Vorotnikov Pays Official Visit

Hails Support for Restructuring

LD122020 Prague CTK in English
1714 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 12 (CTK)—Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Premier of the Russian Federation Vitaliy Vorotnikov today appreciated Czechoslovakia's support for restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a meeting of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship in Prague, Vitaliy Vorotnikov who heads a delegation of the Russian Federation to the Federation's days of culture recalled the spirit of friendship which marked meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Gustav Husak and said that "our relations are built on the principles of unconditional and total equality and responsibility of the ruling party for the situation in its country".

He emphasized that the restructuring is joined by many millions of Soviet working people. There are still many difficulties to be overcome, hesitation and indecision are apparent in some spheres. Some people are still influenced by the conservative traditions, and bureaucratism, bad economy and irresponsibility are still in evidence. Time has come to realize the restructuring energetically.

Speaking about international affairs, Vitaliy Vorotnikov welcomed changes for the better, the stereotype of anti-Sovietism and suspicion is being broken, as proved inter alia by the Soviet-U.S. agreement to conclude a treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles. The Soviet Union will continue exerting every effort to halt the arms race and build a comprehensive system of international security, he added.

Meets With Strougal

LD121858 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Lubomir Strougal met in Prague's Hrzan Palace this evening with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Vorotnikov is visiting Czechoslovakia at the head of a delegation from the RSFSR. In a cordial and frank conversation, they discussed a broad range of questions concerning the life of our two countries, with emphasis on the progress of the program of restructuring, democratization, and openness launched by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress. In addition, the two representatives examined bilateral trade and cooperation in science, technology, and production. While they expressed interest in broadening this collaboration, their prime topic was the implementation of advanced methods, including (?direct) relations.

Strougal To Begin Visit to USSR 15 Nov

LD122153 Prague CTK in English
1635 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal will leave on Sunday for a working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The aim of the visit is to extend relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union mainly in the economic and scientific-technological spheres.

CTK Reviews Celebration of 1917 Revolution

LD031857 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 3 Nov 87

[By Jan Stejskal]

[Text] Moscow Nov 3 (CTK)—The chain of historical events forged by the honest work of people links the historical days of the October Revolution with the revolutionary present.

This idea dominated the atmosphere of the Kremlin where the central Soviet party and state bodies and hundreds of foreign guests held a two-day session.

The Soviet public welcomed the words of supreme representatives of the fraternal socialist countries who praised the process of changes in the Soviet Union describing it as a source of inspiration and new strength. The two-day meeting in the Kremlin was held not merely to commemorate the revolutionary days of October 1917 but to show the determination to creatively develop the bequest of the revolution.

The addresses delivered at the commemorative session of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the parliaments of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation testified to the influence of the present reality in the Soviet Union on the international communist and workers' movement and on the program of all left-oriented organizations and movements. All the participants agreed that the continuity of the revolutionary struggle plus new thinking and new deeds show today the road towards a just world rid of violence and exploitation.

The home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a mighty impulse for the activity of the workers' movement. The course of the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution showed the existence of a qualitatively new situation in which the communist and workers' parties develop their struggle and their mutual relations. The world public expects much of the coming meeting of more than 160 foreign delegations which have arrived in Moscow to celebrate the Great October Revolution.

Fojtik on 1968 'Chaos,' Leninist Theory

AU131226 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 87 p 2

[Speech by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the "festive reopening" of the Lenin Museum in Prague on 9 November]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] By implementing the Leninist program of socialist construction we have achieved results, in which we justly take pride. [passage omitted] However, we have also had bad times, the worst after January 1968. At that time, through the fault of right-wing opportunists, the party was not only unable to mobilize society for the solution of grievous problems that had been accumulating for a long time, an obligation which was imposed on it by the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee, but also temporarily lost control over the course of events. The crisis intensified and came to a head, chaos set in, and the foundations of socialism came to be threatened. [passage omitted]

The years which followed after the defeat of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces—the years of consolidation and a new rise of socialism—undoubtedly rank among the most important in the history of socialist construction in our country. However, because of various external and internal forces, this period, too, had its intricacies and contradictions, which we must solve in the spirit of the revolutionary bequest of Leninism—building on accomplishments and, at the same time, in an innovative way, with full respect for the new needs and requirements of the era of scientific-technical revolution, and with an uncompromisingly critical view of and approach to everything that has become obsolete and hampers our advancement, to everything that condemns our society to trailing behind. Only on the basis of this principled Leninist approach can we defend the gains which socialism accomplished thus far, only in this way can we move forward.

At the 17th CPCZ Congress we drew the appropriate conclusions from an analysis of the conditions and needs of that stage in our society's development, as well as from an analysis of the processes taking place in the world, and now we responsibly deal with the itemization of these conclusions. An important impulse was provided for this by the new line of the CPSU adopted at the April session of the CPSU Central Committee and comprehensively elaborated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The Soviet Communists' course of action, which demonstrates their dedication to creative Leninism, fruitfully influences our present. We, too, have adopted the strategy of accelerating the socioeconomic development of society and taken up restructuring with the awareness that it is unpostponable and inevitable. It arises from both our internal needs and international responsibilities, from the necessity to keep abreast of developments in the world. Modernizing the forms of society's organization, mobilizing the advantages of the socialist social system, making a far better use of the creative potentials, energy, and initiative of the people, opening scope for the broad application of the latest results of scientific-technical development, and switching the economy consistently from its extensive development to an intensive one—these are questions of existence for us as well. It is only by taking this path—provided that we do so energetically, realizing the importance of the time factor—that we will achieve a qualitatively higher level of development of our socialist society as well as a qualitatively higher level of satisfying society's growing needs.

By acting thoughtfully, with a sense of direction, and persistently in implementing the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress, in its further creative itemization commensurate with our needs, we must now demonstrate in practice to what extent our party is a revolutionary and Leninist party. There should not be any doubt in anyone's mind that we shall successfully cope with the new tasks, despite the complexity of the problems connected with restructuring.

What allows us to make such a conclusion?

First of all, it is the experience gained on the difficult road of socialist transformations and generalized in important documents, such as, for example, the Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress. It is, of course, also the experience of the last 2 decades, which has confirmed the conclusions of the "Lessons." This experience instructs us not to dodge current problems but to deal with them in a principled fashion, with utmost responsibility arising from profound patriotism and internationalism, and from respect for the history of people who opted for socialism of their own will. It instructs us never to lose sight of the party's mission to serve the cause of the working class and the working people and of its foremost obligation to enhance and defend the wealth of this country, in which every upright person must feel at home, that is, everyone who respects its laws and the will of the people, the socialist order, and the underlying principles of our socialist society, principles gained by fighting in the revolution.

The safest guarantee that we will successfully cope with the tests awaiting us is a creative attitude to scientific socialism.

The best source for learning this art—and we know from our own experience how difficult this is—is Lenin, his theoretical work, revolutionary activity, his entire life.

Lenin was a man of principle, as only a genuine revolutionary can be. Opportunism was perhaps the one thing that he hated most of all. He despised it and mercilessly pilloried and fought it. [passage omitted] He unswervingly followed Marx's maxim: never deduce reality from principles, but deduce principles from life; never

attempt to squeeze objective reality and its dialectics into ideological patterns at any cost. Such is the basic postulate of modern, Marxist materialism, in which there is no room for voluntarism and subjectivism, for the authoritarianism of "unerring" persons. Lenin was a consistent and militant exponent of this materialism. [passage omitted] The relevance of Lenin's words that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice is greater today than ever before in the past. [passage omitted] The lack of scientific analyses and syntheses and of a continuous examination of reality results in great losses. The struggle against dogmatism must therefore always be combined with overcoming narrowminded one-sided emphasis of practice [prakticismus] and pragmatism. It is typical of opportunism that it likes to cover up its overly practical helplessness with ostentatiousness, empty cliches, schematic pseudo-actions, and various half-baked reorganizations, all of which is designed to create the impression of "activity."

If we ask wherein lies the essence of Lenin's theoretical heritage and which aspects of this heritage, in particular, need to be preserved and promoted, thoroughly assimilated, and constantly applied in practice, then there can be only one answer: It is the living, revolutionary, materialist dialectics.

It is the dialectics that constitute the basis of what we call new thinking. They teach us to respect truth in its entirety and contradictions, which are inherent to life, no matter how bitter and seemingly unacceptable this truth may be. They turn the recognition of truth and of the objective laws governing development, history, and the present into an instrument of the struggle for man's better life in happiness. [passage omitted]

Part and parcel of the essence of dialectics is responsibility—in thought and practice. One of the widespread but very dangerous errors is that dialectics consist of mere negation or indiscriminate criticism. Lenin's characterization of it is completely different: "It is not sheer negation, rash negation, skeptical negation, wavering, and doubt that characterize dialectics and that matter in dialectics... but negation as a factor of continuity, as a factor of development retaining that which is positive, that is, it is something that is free of any wavering, of any eclecticism." [passage omitted]

It is precisely such a highly responsible, constructive, and basically optimistic approach that distinguishes Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the recent festive session in the Moscow Kremlin marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It provides an example of the creative application of Leninist dialectics to the analysis of contemporary problems, including the way in which it pointed out the importance of the integrity and unity of the present-day world, whose antagonisms and contradictions need not lead—if reason and realism prevail in international politics and new thinking gains the upper hand—to a fatal confrontation that would destroy everything created by human civilization and culture thus far. The balance of power in the world makes the peace prospect based on the Leninist idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems realistic. [passage omitted]

Further on Visit by Ethiopia's Mengistu

Addresses Ethiopian Community

EA122328 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam has said in Prague that there is no force whatsoever to deter the Ethiopian people from building a strong and self-reliant economy. Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the WPE, president of the PDRE and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, made the observation when addressing the Ethiopian community in Czechoslovakia yesterday.

After visiting the Ethiopian Embassy, Comrade President Mengistu noted the nation's ancient civilization and proven heroism of its people, and said today's priority task is to meet the basic needs of the people, particularly in the areas of self-sufficiency in food, health care, and shelter. He pointed out that the gravity of these problems should be recognized for them to be solved and that, in general, it demands the efforts of all nationals for a stronger respected Ethiopia to be built.

On arrival at the embassy compound President Mengistu was welcomed by Comrade Wondwosen Hailu, member of the Central Committee of the WPE and Ethiopian ambassador in Czechoslovakia, and other embassy staff.

Leaves for Bratislava

LD121258 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] A party and government delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit. The group left Prague today for Bratislava. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's top representative, was seen off at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by our highest party and state leaders, headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic.

Final talks between Gustav Husak and Mengistu Haile Mariam and the members of both delegations took place at Prague Castle this morning. The most senior representatives of Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia spoke highly of the course and results of the Ethiopian delegation's official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. They said it will significantly stimulate the further comprehensive development of mutual cooperation in politics, economics, and culture. It has contributed to the deepening of traditional friendly relations between the two countries.

Dusan Ulcak, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and (Assefa Wolde), head of a department of the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed an intergovernmental agreement today on cooperation in health and medical sciences. The accord was signed in the presence of Gustav Husak, Mengistu Haile Mariam, and other members of both delegations. Ladislav Gerle, deputy premier of the federal government and Yusuf Ahmed, vice president of the Ethiopian State Council, signed an agreement today at Prague Castle on the continued growth of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia.

Visits Cooperative Farm

LD122339 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Bratislava Nov 12 (CTK)—The visiting party and state delegation of Ethiopia, led by Workers' Party General Secretary and President Mengistu Haile Mariam, arrived here from Prague today.

The guests were accompanied by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak and other officials. They were welcomed to the Slovak capital by Jozef Lenart, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and first secretary of the Slovak [word indistinct] political and public life.

Soon after arrival, the guests left for the cooperative farm "Druzba" (Friendship) at Sala.

During the visit to the cooperative farm at Sala, the Ethiopian delegation saw a seed maize and sunflower growing line, a productive combination thanks to which the farm has reached the yields of 6.5 tonnes of maize per hectare, more than one tonne above the national average.

During a meeting of the Ethiopian guests with cooperative farmers and representatives of the local authorities, chairman of the "Druzba" farm Emil Dufala told the guests that its yields have not declined under six tonnes per hectare in the recent period. Their average milk yields per milch cow are 4,350 litres annually. The farm has 3,000 heads of cattle.

Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam stressed that these results were very interesting for his country and said that he had found valuable experience at the farm for the implementation of the program of turning Ethiopian agriculture, in which 80 per cent of the country's population are employed, on a cooperative basis. He explained the present structure and intentions of agricultural production in his country.

Daily Evaluates Results of CPC Congress

AU121427 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 87 p 7

[Article by Beijing correspondent Vladimir Divis: "Continuation of Reforms; Looking Back over the 13th CPC Congress;" boldface passages as published]

[Text] **Asked by journalists, a few hours after his election as general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, what he regarded as the most important outcome of the preceding 8 days of congress discussions, Zhao Ziyang replied without much hesitation: "The congress and the subsequent first session of the Central Committee created extensive political, organizational, and theoretical prerequisites for a long-term and stable development of the strategy of reforms, for sustaining the continuity of the political line mapped out by the CPC Central Committee session of December 1978."**

In the theoretical field he had in mind the detailed elaboration and explanation of the issue of why China still finds itself in the initial stage of building socialism. Building on this stable foundation, the Communist Party is now better placed to determine the strategic line, taking account of objective conditions and the country's exigencies.

Six Principles [subhead]

In the last 2 years and before the recent congress, in particular, there was a myriad of speculation in some foreign media concerning the alleged "depoliticization" of life in the PRC, the CPC's massively weakened influence on events in the country, and many similar claims.

The congress gave a clear reply to these unwarranted judgments. It fully affirmed the validity of the four basic principles guiding the CPC's policy, which are **the party's leading role in Chinese society, the socialist path of the country's development, the democratic dictatorship of the people, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought.**

However, this list would be incomplete if we did not add **the deepening and expansion of the reforms of economic and political structures, and the open-door policy.**

These six points characterize the strategy laid down by the CPC Central Committee December 1978 session and affirmed and brought up-to-date by the 13th party congress. The idea was repeatedly voiced at the congress that only a consistent implementation of reforms can lead to the building a modern socialist society in China, with advanced ideology and culture. At the same time a number of speakers stressed that **one of the key and primary aims of the economic and political reform must be a more rapid development of production forces.** At the heart of this development lies the policy of reforms and open doors. "In the current historical stage," *Renmin*

Ribao stresses in an editorial, "it is necessary to see to the building of the party in the process of the implementation of the reforms of expanding contacts and cooperation with the outside world."

A Continuous Process of Rejuvenation [subhead]

When assessing the results of the 13th CPC Congress, we must not pass over the scale of the rejuvenation of all central party bodies and the fact that, for the first time ever, their members were **elected by secret ballot** and, moreover, in two rounds, **according to the principle that the number of nominees must exceed the number of those elected.**

However, it would be wrong to assume that this process has started only now. As was stressed several times by Deng Xiaoping, the trail-blazer in this respect was the December session of the CPC Central Committee 9 years ago, followed by the 12th party congress in 1982, and, last but not least, the All-China Party Conference. According to Chinese comrades, this inevitable process will take at least 10 more years.

Long before the congress, Comrade Deng pointed out unambiguously that the continuous rejuvenation of leading bodies among party, state, and social organizations represented one of the fundamental prerequisites for a more rapid implementation of reforms.

As the post-congress commentaries of central Chinese dailies stress, it is primarily the party veterans who deserve the credit for the creation of this system of cadre exchange. According to the *China Daily*, at this point it is hard to fully appreciate the importance of the fact that, for the first time in the modern history of China, a leading representative, in this case Deng Xiaoping, is leaving his top-level posts voluntarily. "This is another exceedingly valuable contribution by Deng Xiaoping to the success of the country's modernization," the *China Daily* comment.

It was he who, 5 years ago, at the 12th congress, stood at the cradle of the **central commission of advisers of the Central Committee, to which 200 former leading functionaries of the party, the state, and the Army have now been elected.**

This institution has clearly facilitated the departure of those who had held key posts, sometimes for several decades. In the last few years they have been able to convince themselves that this authoritative body of advisers and consultants does not exist just nominally, but that their successors often come to consult them and to profit from their rich experience.

The congress has not only brought rejuvenation, but also a substantial reduction in the membership of all central bodies, with the sole exception of the commission of advisers. As Zhu Muzhi, the spokesman for the congress, put it, this "diet" should help improve their efficiency and productivity and contribute to a broader participation in collective decisions on questions of principle. Economic Development at the Center of Attention [subhead]

As a conclusion from the report and the final resolutions, the CPC will continue to pay maximum attention to economic development and the country's modernization. This was reflected, inter alia, in the elections of supreme CPC representatives. Among the 17 members of the Politburo, for example, we can find the premier, all 5 vice premiers, the state secretary in the government, and 3 ministers (one minister is a candidate member of the Politburo).

On the other hand, the number of academicians and other scientists, representatives of culture, and other members of the intelligentsia in this body has significantly increased.

As for Deng Xiaoping, he has not retired completely. Although he is no longer a member of the Central Committee and the commission of advisers of the Central Committee, he retains considerable influence on Chinese domestic and foreign policies. This is borne out, among other things, by the composition of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission, over which he presides. Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, was appointed first vice chairman of this commission and General Yang Shangkun, another member of the Politburo, has become its acting vice chairman.

Peace as a Prerequisite for Restructuring [subhead]

Our look back over the 13th CPC Congress would be incomplete if we did not pause to consider, at least briefly, passages devoted to the PRC's foreign policy. The Chinese leadership continues to proceed from the proposition that a long period of peace free of unnecessarily high armament expenditures is necessary to implement the far-reaching program of reforms, restructuring, and modernization of Chinese society as a whole. As Zhao stated, the modernization program looks as far ahead as the middle of the next century.

The principles of "panch shila," formulated in 1955 by Nehru and Zhou Enlai, premiers of India and the PRC at the time, remain the cornerstone of Chinese foreign policy. These are: **mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.**

In this way, together with all peace-loving forces in the world, China in the future, too, intends to comprehensively contribute to strengthening peace on our planet, halting the arms race, and averting the nuclear threat.

Soviet Army Chief Dies in GDR

LD131103 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1043 GMT 13 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 13 Nov (ADN)—The commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army General Valeriy Belikov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, died of acute heart failure in Wuensdorf on Thursday. He had been in his post since 1986.

Valeriy Belikov was born on 19 July 1925 and joined the CPSU in 1949. He served in the Soviet army from 1942 and held several command positions. Valeriy Belikov attended the military academy of armored troops and the military academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. From 1979 he was the commander of the troops in the Carpatian military district.

DRA's Wakil Pays Official Visit

Arrives 12 Nov

LD121430 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1256 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 12 Nov, ADN—'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, arrived in the GDR today on an official visit. He has been invited by Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs of the GDR, who welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefelt airport.

The Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wahed Baha Jan, was also present.

Begins Talks With Fischer

LD121641 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 12 Nov (ADN)—Oskar Fischer and 'Abdul Wakil, foreign ministers of the GDR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, began their official talks in the GDR Foreign Ministry in Berlin this afternoon. At the center of the extensive exchange of views are basic questions of international developments and relations which are developing steadily and fruitfully for both sides on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

At the start of his official visit to the GDR 'Abdul Wakil honored the victims of fascism and militarism by laying a wreath at the Unter den Linden Memorial.

Exchanges Toast With Fischer

LD122307 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1839 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 12 Nov (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer hosted a dinner in Berlin this evening in honor of DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil. Among those present at the Palais Unter den Linden were Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council; Manfred Flegel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other public figures from the GDR and from the Afghan politician's entourage.

At the start of the dinner the two ministers made toasts. Oskar Fischer, who again warmly welcomed Abdul Wakil and his entourage, described the first official visit by his guest to the GDR as an important step toward the deepening of good, wide-ranging relations between the two states, which are developing fruitfully on the firm foundation of the 21 May 1982 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

He referred to the over 30 concluded agreements and accords in the most diverse spheres, which are being carried out with dedication by the two sides for the benefit of their peoples. The GDR supports Afghanistan, for example, through the training and further qualification of cadres, particularly in education and in higher and vocational education. The concurring view of our two states concerning the basic issues of international politics forms a good basis for the expansion of our cooperation, for the deepening of bilateral relations, and at an international level, the GDR foreign minister said.

With the agreement between the USSR and the United States to conclude an accord on the scrapping of nuclear medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, real nuclear disarmament could begin for the first time. The greatest efforts of all peaceloving forces are necessary in order to halt the arms race on earth and to prevent its extension to space, in order to reach an agreement on the worldwide banning of chemical weapons, and to proceed toward disarmament in conventional weapons.

The minister recalled in this connection the comprehensive program submitted on this by the Warsaw Pact states. At the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, the GDR, together with its allies, supports the start of negotiations on a radical reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe. Disarmament and a halt to confrontation would release resources which are urgently required for the solution of the most pressing global problems, such as underdevelopment, hunger, disease, illiteracy, mass unemployment, and threats to the natural environment. The GDR has great respect for the "Harare Appeal" and the other documents of the 8th summit meeting of state and government leaders of the member states of the Non-aligned Movement. The GDR welcomes every initiative suited to eliminating conflicts and areas of war by peaceful means through constructive dialogue and with respect for the legitimate interests of all involved parties, Oskar Fischer said.

For this reason I say that the GDR attaches the greatest significance to the process of national reconciliation introduced by the DRA Government. It is proving to be a realistic way of ending the armed conflict in your country and creating favorable conditions for a comprehensive solution to the situation in and around your country.

Oskar Fischer expressed the hope that the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which are taking place in Geneva under U.N. auspices, will result in the conclusion of specific agreements on a normalization of relations between the two neighboring countries. He wished the Afghan people successes in the realization of the policy of national reconciliation, in the struggle to end the bloodshed, and in efforts for a happy future for an independent, neutral and nonaligned Afghanistan.

In his response, Abdul Wakil conveyed sincere and warm greetings from Dr Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council. The friendship between the peoples of the two countries has been brought on to a qualitatively new level by means of the April revolution. The minister paid tribute to the support of the GDR in the international arena for the just struggle of his people. Based on the unity of our views on current and urgent international issues, our friendship has been strengthened, he said. The DRA supports the tireless efforts of the SED, the government and the people of the GDR for the creation of a lasting peace in Europe and the world, and for the transformation of the European continent into a nuclear weapons-free zone. Abdul Wakil welcomed the decisions of the Berlin session of Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact and the member countries of the CEMA from 28 to 29 May 1987. His country supports their views on a new approach to the issues of peace, disarmament, and nuclear deterrence, and on the creation of a new international economic order, an urgent requirement for the development of backward countries.

The Afghan politician also stressed support for the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the creation of a comprehensive international security system in the political and economic spheres, and on human relations. The accord between the Soviet Union and the United States achieved recently concerning the signing of an agreement on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles has aroused hopes for agreements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. The minister spoke about the successful conclusion of the 2d national party conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, at which the efforts of the party leadership for ending the civil war were emphatically welcomed and approved. With the victory of the April revolution, there has been no pursuit of the intention of waging war against anyone. However, U.S. imperialism, in particular, and the reactionary forces in the region have imposed civil war on the Afghan people in an enigmatic and systematic fashion.

As a result of a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of society and of experiences of the past, the DRA foreign minister said, the party and state leadership proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation in order to bring the civil war to an end, to create peace in all parts of the country, and to accelerate the socio-economic progress of society. The opposition forces have been offered participation right up to the point of the formation of a coalition government. A unilateral cease-fire of 6 months has been extended for a further 6 months. So far, 30,000 armed persons have laid down their arms and have joined the state. More than 90,000 refugees have returned home, and their number would be much higher were it not for the obstacles created by the neighboring states of Iran and Pakistan.

We want friendly relations with our neighbors, Iran and Pakistan, the countries of the Islamic world, and the movement of the nonaligned states. Our traditional friendly relations with India are of great importance to us, he said.

The safeguarding of good neighborly relations with another of our neighbors, to wit China, is one of the principles of our foreign policy, the Afghan foreign minister stated. Based on our principled foreign policy, we are striving for an improvement in relations with the Western states, including the United States. In the Geneva talks between the DRA and Pakistan for a solution to the conflict, we are still making real efforts. By means of concessions in principle, particularly in the latest round of talks, the differences in opinion have been reduced, so that, given realism from the other side, the next round could be the last.

In the hope of a lasting peace, and with the wish for further successes for the friendly people of the GDR, Abdul Wakil proposed a toast to the strengthening and expansion of fraternal friendship between the two parties, governments, and peoples.

SPD Official Spoeri Pays Visit

Holds Talks With Beil

LD112258 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 11 Nov (ADN)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil had a talk today with Dr Dieter Spoeri, member of the SPD Bundestag Executive group, and top SPD candidate for the 1988 state elections in Baden-Wuerttemberg. During the talk the present state and development of trade and economic relations between the GDR and FRG and with the federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg was discussed.

Proceeding from the statements in the joint communique resulting from the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG at the beginning of 1987, Dr Gerhard Beil underscored that trade and economic relations have developed positively over the the past few years on the basis of existing agreements and accords, and have proved to be a stabilizing element of overall relations.

The expansion of economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual advantage continues to be the GDR's goal in the coming years.

Firms in Baden-Wuerttemberg play a decisive part in this development and its deliveries and imports were also continued at a high level in 1987.

Dr Dieter Spoeri underscored Dr Beil's view and spoke in favor of expanding trade with the firms of Baden-Wuerttemberg. Contacts which already exist on various levels, for example in the sphere of science and technology, should also be developed. The annual economic talk which is to be held in early December 1987 in Stuttgart under the auspices of the FRG-GDR trade association and the GDR design exhibition planned for May 1988 would reflect this aim. The talk was attended by Guenter Huonker, member of the SPD Regional Executive.

Meets With Honecker

LD122110 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1137 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin 12 Nov ADN—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Dr Dieter Spoeri, member of the SPD Bundestag Group Executive and of the Presidium of the Baden-Wuerttemberg SPD State Executive, in the State Council building for an exchange of views, which took place in an open and businesslike atmosphere.

Dieter Spoeri, who is his party's top candidate for the 1988 state election in Baden-Wuerttemberg, conveyed cordial greetings from the chairman of the SPD and of the Bundestag group, Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel, which Erich Honecker reciprocated with thanks.

Erich Honecker and Dieter Spoeri were in agreement in stating that in view of the danger of a nuclear inferno the preservation and consolidation of peace and the safeguarding of the survival of mankind were and would remain the paramount present tasks. The two men reaffirmed their opinion that actions of responsible politicians of the two German states must be characterized by the obligation to work to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, only peace.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR has felt itself committed to this noble goal since its foundation. Its policy of dialogue and cooperation and of active collaboration in solving the disarmament problem corresponded to this.

His talks with leading politicians during his recent official visits to the FRG, the Netherlands, and Belgium had made it clear that given reason and realism there were great opportunities for a change for the better in international relations. Today more than ever, it was a matter of discarding old, stereotyped modes of thought of confrontation and striving for military superiority on earth and in space and of practicing new ways of thinking that were aimed at safeguarding the foundations of mankind's existence, Erich Honecker stressed.

The partners in the talk spoke in support of the intended signing of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a double-zero option for nuclear medium-range missiles. They welcomed the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan arranged for 7 December this year in Washington.

The start to real nuclear disarmament that was now emerging would have a beneficial effect on the international climate and lead to the creation of more stability and trust. It made possible steps for confidence-building and disarmament in other spheres, too, such as the halving of the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, the strengthening of the ABM Treaty, a halt to nuclear tests, and the elimination of chemical and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In accordance with the principle of equality and equal security a start should be made by means of negotiation toward the elimination of imbalances in armed forces and arms through disarmament and not through counterarming. In addition, the military doctrines of the alliance should be set out in such a way as to exclude all attack capabilities.

The committed work of the SED and the SPD, together with all forces of reason and realism, for a peaceful, disarmed Europe, free of tension is impressively expressed in the joint initiatives of the two parties for a chemical weapons-free zone and a nuclear weapons-free corridor. With the jointly formulated document "The struggle of the Ideologies and Common Security" indications are also given as to how these parties see a politically responsible approach to the solution of the questions of mankind's future.

Erich Honecker and Dieter Spoeri spoke with great determination against a continuation of the course of arms build-up, against militarization of space, and against all strategies of deterrence.

The partners in the talk discussed the connection between economy, science and technology, and disarmament at length. Starting from the fact that the arms race consumes enormous means and undermines the security of all states and peoples, ways must be found to drastically lower arms expenditure. The results of human thought and actions should exclusively serve the well-being of people and social progress. The resources freed by disarmament should be used for solving social and global problems, including in the Third World.

The two sides believe that the Helsinki Final Act forms a basis for negotiations on disarmament in Europe and a viable foundation for the progressive establishment of a European peace system.

The inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present borders is a basic condition for peace. The implementation of human rights as defined by the United Nations and set out in the Helsinki Final Act also contributes to the consolidation of a peaceful relationship.

Dieter Spoeri expressed the view that since Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG much more favorable possibilities existed for shaping relations between the two German states as part of general European cooperation and in a peace-serving and goodneighborly way.

Erich Honecker agreed with this and stressed that if both sides were guided by respect for sovereignty, equality of rights, and noninterference and by objectivity, predictability, and consideration for legitimate interests there would be further progress in relations between the GDR and the FRG. There were sufficient possibilities for this on the basis of the communique on his visit to the Federal Republic, for example in the spheres of trade, industry, environmental protection, science, technology, nuclear safety and radiation protection, and culture. The GDR is prepared to cooperate with all those who show reason, realism, and goodwill.

Dieter Spoeri expressed his satisfaction at the good level of relations between the GDR and Baden-Wuerttemberg. There was agreement on the further development of contacts for mutual advantage.

Erich Honecker and Dieter Spoeri praised the expansion of mutual contacts at various levels. Programs for youth meetings and the town-twinnings that had been agreed, the development of which was progressing favorably, were encouraging examples of this.

Taking part in the talk were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the Chancery of the chairman of the State Council; and Gunter Rettner, department director of the SED Central Committee.

The SPD politician was accompanied by Gunter Huonker, member of the Bundestag; and Hannelore Bacher, a member of Dieter Spoeri's personal staff.

DPA Report on Talks

LD121454 Hamburg DPA in German 1314 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—In a talk with GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, in East Berlin today, Baden-Wuerttemberg SPD Bundestag deputies Dieter Spoeri and Gunter Huonker raised their hopes for a continuation of the positive development in intra-German travel. They also touched on the question of the entry refusals for former GDR citizens who, according to Spoeri, were allowed to emigrate legally after 1 January 1982. The suggestion to reduce this period of what is now 5 years had been noted, Huonker added at a press conference.

Spoeri said that the wish of the city of Heilbronn for a twinning arrangement with Frankfurt/Oder had been positively received by Honecker. [passage omitted]

Spoeri announced that the first session of the SPD/SED working party on questions of disarmament in the conventional field, as well as for tactical nuclear weapons, would take place on 27 November. The two groups of experts from both parties, led by Egon Bahr (SPD) and SED Politburo member Hermann Axen, have already worked out principles for a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Europe. [passage omitted]

Holds Press Conference

LD122321 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin 12 Nov (ADN)—At an international press conference in Berlin today, SPD politicians Dr Dieter Spoeri and Gunter Huonker spoke about the results of the talks and the further program of their 3-day stay in the GDR. In an introductory statement, Dr Spoeri stressed that at the meeting with Erich Honecker the prospects for disarmament policy were the prime topic. Both sides agreed that the upcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on 7 December could be the starting point of a new historical period. After the negotiations on medium-range missiles and after possible results in the reduction of strategic weapons by 50 percent, further disarmament efforts should follow. The SPD politician pointed to the interest expressed in the talk with Erich Honecker on disarmament in the conventional sphere and in the nuclear tactical sphere; that is to say for nuclear weapons with a range of under 500 km.

In this connection, Dr Spoeri recalled the joint SPD-SED initiatives for the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone.

In the talk there was also agreement that a general ban should be reached on chemical weapons and on nuclear tests.

The SPD politicians said that further major issues of the talks in the GDR are prospects in the spheres of economic and technological cooperation and collaboration between the FRG and the GDR in the scientific sector. Economic relations have developed positively in recent years on the basis of existing agreements and accords. They are a stabilizing factor in the overall relations between the two states. Dr Spoeri said that there has been particularly positive developments in trade relations between the GDR and the federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg. Good possibilities exist for expanding it to mutual benefit. There will be economic talks in Stuttgart this year by the FRG-GDR trade association.

Touching on contacts between the SPD and the SED, he pointed to the joint document of the SPD and the SED, which met with a very great response in the two states.

Asked about this, Dr Spoeri replied that the value of the document "The Struggle of the Ideologies and Common Security" had been stressed anew by Erich Honecker in his speech at the celebrations of the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary in Moscow and in the explanations in '*Neues Deutschland*' by Prof Otto Reinhold. There is now greater clarity within the SPD regarding questions of the interpretation of the document. The document met with a strong response in the SPD and aroused lively interest. It is being discussed at all levels of the SPD. The document has "come at just the right time, because basically in it the premises of the security partnership and of peaceful coexistence have been formulated in a very successful manner."

Dr Spoeri also spoke critically of the value of embargo measures. The so-called Cocom list, for example, has led among, other things, to the GDR arriving at the top level with astonishing speed in the sphere of electronics and computer systems.

W. Berlin Resident Sentenced for Espionage

LD122119 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 12 Nov (ADN)—The Berlin Supreme Military Courton 12 November 1987 handed down an 8-year-prison sentence on Bernd Manthey, a resident of West Berlin, for military espionage against the GDR, and for treasonable transmission of information, in accordance with paragraphs 98 and 99 of the Penal Code. It was successfully proven during the main proceedings that Manthey, who emigrated to West Berlin in 1985, as a recruited, trained, and paid agent of the Federal Information Service (BND), had been carrying out espionage to the detriment of GDR interests since September 1986. During several meetings with members of staff of the BND, which in four cases were conducted in violation of the four-power agreement on West Berlin in that city, he forwarded espionage information which had been gathered and received new instructions.

The espionage service equipment which was seized, and the passenger vehicle used for the espionage journeys with official registration mark B-EW 147, were confiscated.

Boehme Arrives in Bonn for Education Talks

LD091450 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn, 9 Nov (ADN)—Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister of university and technical school matters arrived in Bonn today on a 4-day visit to the FRG. He was invited by Juergen Moellemann, federal minister of education and science of the FRG.

On arrival, Boehme emphasized that he wants to discuss with Moellemann issues of cooperation in the spheres of higher education and also science and technology. An exchange of experiences on issues of scientific cooperation between the GDR and FRG is also planned. The basis of the talks is the joint communique on Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG and the basic treaty between the GDR and FRG.

Boehme said that he hopes to have meetings with other representatives of FRG science, and will be visiting universities and colleges in North Rhine Westphalia and Bavaria. He will talk with the competent ministers about issues of higher education.

Speaks on Education Cooperation

LD102244 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn, 10 Nov (ADN)—The usefulness of cooperation in the field of higher education for the further successful development of relations between both German states has been underlined by GDR Higher Education Minister Professor Dr H.C. Hans-Joachim Boehme, and FRG Minister for Education and Science Juergen Moellemann, at the conclusion of their 2-day talks in Bonn. Minister Boehme is visiting the FRG for 4 days at the invitation of his opposite number.

The talks between both ministers served the exchange of information on questions of current higher education policy, the exchange of views on questions of development, management and structure of higher education, on problems of education and training as well as questions of research work.

The ministers agreed to assume cooperation and reciprocal information in the higher education field and to contribute to the further implementation of the relevant agreements between the GDR and FRG governments.

There was also agreement on cooperation regarding specific areas and projects within the framework of these agreements, which could serve as the basis for the development of mutually beneficial relations between universities and higher education institutions. The GDR minister for higher and vocational education invited the federal minister for education and science to visit the GDR. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

During his stay in Bonn Minister Boehme also held talks with the president of the "West German Rectors' Conference," Professor Dr Hinrich Seidel, as well as with leading representatives of the "German Research Association" and the "Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Education and the Arts of the Laender" in the FRG.

The head of the GDR Permanent Mission to the FRG, Ambassador Ewald Moldt, gave a banquet on Tuesday on occasion of the GDR minister's visit.

His invitation was accepted by Federal Minister for Education and Science Juergen Moellemann; the Baden-Wuerttemberg science minister Professor Dr Helmut Engler; State Secretary Dr Eberhard Boehning from the Federal Ministry of Education and Science; as well as Lower House deputies and representatives from FRG science circles. Ambassador Moldt emphasized that the dialogue between both German states is now also taking place in the field of higher education policy with the first visit by a GDR minister for higher and vocational education to the FRG.

In the next few days Minister Boehme will have meetings with university rectors and further representatives of public life in North Rhine Wesphalia and Bavaria.

GDR to Supply PLO With Weapons

JN111506 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 9 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] *Al-Ittihad* has learned from leading Palestinian sources that during the visit by Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces, to the GDR ending 7 November, the GDR agreed to

supply the PLO with sophisticated weapons and military hardware. The GDR also agreed to conduct military training courses to upgrade the Palestinian cadres military efficiency.

The sources said that Khalil al-Wazir's talks with the GDR leaders were very important as they dealt with military cooperation between the two sides and how to support the Palestinian People's struggle on all levels.

Defense Minister Addresses Berlin Gathering

LD122355 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 12 Nov (ADN)—Heinz Kessler, GDR national defense minister, described the preservation of peace as the most important concern of the present. The army general and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee on Thursday told artists, writers, scientists, and doctors in Berlin that, since the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, this aim characterizes all military concepts of the Soviet state and the entire socialist community. This is also reflected in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. It is directed at the acquittal of the cardinal task, the prevention of a war, whether waged with nuclear or conventional means.

The GDR will in the future continue to make its active contribution to this aim, the national defense minister emphasized. This is why the main task of the National People's Army continues to be the reliable protection of the expansion of the advanced socialist society and the life and peaceful work of the people and the safeguarding of the inviolability of the borders, in collaboration with the protection and security organs of the GDR, the Soviet armed forces, and the other fraternal armies.

Krenz Receives PPR Supreme Court Delegation

AU122032 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on Tuesday [10 November] received a delegation from the PPR Supreme Court, headed by its President Prof Dr Adam Lopatka, member of the PZPR Central Committee.

Egon Krenz briefed the visitor on the GDR domestic and foreign policy in implementing the 11th SED Congress resolutions. He paid tribute to the courts' contribution to further developing legal security in the GDR and underlined the importance of cooperation between jurists from both states.

Prof Dr Lopatka reported on the activities of PPR courts on the basis of the PZPR resolutions on further strengthening the socialist social system. He stated that close cooperation between jurists from both countries is an important contribution to deepening the friendship between the PPR and GDR.

The friendly meeting was attended by Dr Guenter Sarge, president of the Supreme Court of the GDR, and Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Matters Department of the SED Central Committee.

Ambassador Ott Addresses UNGA on Afghanistan

AU122028 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Nov 87 p 5

[Excerpt] New York (ADN)—The GDR has noted with satisfaction that an encouraging development has recently begun to emerge, Ambassador Harry Ott, GDR deputy foreign minister and permanent GDR representative at the United Nations, stated in his address to the 42d UN General Assembly.

The path to a comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem has been embarked on. The GDR delegation fully endorses the assessment by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar that a solution through negotiations is the only possible way to peace in Afghanistan and that bold and determined steps are required so that the solution will be supported by all parts of the Afghan people.

There is enough evidence of the firm resolve of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to stabilize the situation in the country, Ambassador Ott continued. But it is equally important to create the external preconditions for peace in and around Afghanistan. The GDR emphatically supports the initiatives of the Afghan government which are proof of the genuine interest to establish good-neighborly relations with the states in the region and to make an active contribution to improving the situation in the region.

The GDR Government and its people will continue to support with active solidarity the struggle of the Afghan people and their government for national reconciliation, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, Harry Ott stressed. [passage omitted]

Honecker Receives ANC's Oliver Tambo

LD102319 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin 10 Nov (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, in the Central Committee building today for a friendly talk.

He presented Tambo with the "Grand Star of International Friendship" awarded to mark his 70th birthday on 27 October 1987, and praised Oliver Tambo's decades of self-sacrificing struggle against the tyranny of apartheid, for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa, and for peace and social progress. Erich Honecker warmly congratulated Oliver Tambo on the successful fight to free

ANC leader Govan Mbeki and said it was a success of the self-sacrificing struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and of the international antiapartheid movement.

During the ensuing exchange of views on international issues, the two politicians paid tribute to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, which were expressed during the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They welcomed the intended signing of an agreement on the elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles and the planned further meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

The partners in the talk expressed hope that from these measures there will be powerful impulses for disarmament and peace, for the improvement of the international situation, and for a flourishing development of cooperation of the peoples.

Erich Honecker stressed the GDR's firm determination to continue its active peace endeavors and to work together with all states prepared to do so for the peaceful, political resolution of all conflicts and disputed issues. In the nuclear age this is an urgent requirement in the interests of the survival of mankind.

Oliver Tambo explained that the ANC is paying great attention to the achievement of a broad alliance of all antiapartheid forces of South Africa, in which the democratic forces of the white minority population are being increasingly included. He reaffirmed the ANC's readiness to take part in negotiations on the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracist, democratic, united South Africa.

Erich Honecker and Oliver Tambo agreed that the system of apartheid must be abolished, because it causes human rights violations on a massive scale and oppression, terror, and death in South Africa. With its policy of destabilization, aggression, and intervention the apartheid regime threatens all peoples of the region and is a threat to world peace.

Erich Honecker and Oliver Tambo noted that friendly cooperation between the SED and the ANC on the basis of close solidarity has reached a high level. They agreed on measures for the further deepening of bilateral cooperation.

Taking part in the talk were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Kurt Seibt, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Solidarity Committee; and Guenter Sieber, member of the Central Committee and director of the international relations department of the SED Central Committee. Present for the ANC was Aziz Pahad, member of the National Executive Committee.

This morning, Oliver Tambo laid a wreath at the Unter den Linden memorial in honor of the victims of fascism and militarism.

Economic Protocol Signed With France

LD102212 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 10 Nov 87 (ADN)—Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR Minister of foreign trade, today met with French Foreign Trade Minister Michel Noir, who is in Berlin for the ninth meeting of the joint GDR-French commission.

The parties paid tribute to the successful development of economic relations since the commission's last meeting in 1985.

They assessed the continuity and dynamism achieved in the goods exchange as an expression of the high level of economic relations between the GDR and France. Michel Noir expressed the great interest of his government in a mutually advantageous continued development of trade and scientific and technical cooperation. The discussions of the joint commission have shown that good conditions exist for this.

In the presence of the foreign trade ministers, the chairmen of the GDR-France joint commission, GDR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Christian Meyer and Francois David, director of foreign economic relations in the French Ministry of Economics, Finance, and Privatization, signed the protocol of the ninth meeting and a working program for 1988-89.

The working program envisages measures for extending the exchange of goods and industrial and technical cooperation, in particular in the areas of machine-building, electrical engineering and electronics, consumer goods, light industry products, and the agricultural sector.

Present at the signing of the documents from the ninth meeting of the joint commission was Mrs Joelle Timsit, France's ambassador to the GDR.

Goetting Receives Peace Delegation

AU121928 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 87 pp 1,2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN) — On Monday [9 November] Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received at the State Council premises a delegation of the "International Center for Peace Among Peoples" from Assisi, Italy.

The guests presented a peace message to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council. The message which is being presented to all European heads of state, expresses the desire to make the cause of peace heard at all international meetings and to give people a secure signal of their hopes for peace. [passage omitted]

In a friendly talk the delegation members explained the concerns of the Assisi peace initiative. In this context Gerald Goetting stressed the topical significance of the message which fully agrees with the peace policy of the GDR and the will for peace of its citizens. Securing peace is the supreme concern of the GDR's state policy, Goetting said. [passage omitted]

Prof Dr H.C. Guenther Drefahl, president of the GDR Peace Council, and Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR State Council, participated in the meeting.

The delegation which is visiting the GDR at the invitation of the Peace Council, comprises Monk Candid Hofman, employee of a church of pilgrimage, Santa Maria degli Angeli; Giampiero Bea, architect in Montefalco; Rita Rocconi, linguistics student, Foligno; Valentino Palpacelli, certified agronomist; and Giancarlo Cannelli, land surveyor, San Vitale d'Assisi. [passage omitted]

Honecker Greets New Tunisian President

AU121526 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 87 p 1

["Congratulations to the New Tunisian President: Erich Honecker on the Inauguration of Zine Labedine Ben Ali"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Zine Labedine Ben Ali, president of the Republic of Tunisia:

I wish you success, creative vigor, and well-being in your activity as president of the Republic of Tunisia.

I express the confidence that the present friendly relations between our states will successfully develop in the future for our mutual advantage and in the interest of peace.

With the expression of my distinguished respect, Erich Honecker general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, congratulated the newly appointed Tunisian Premier Hedi Baccouche.

MSZMP Central Committee Issues Communique

LD122218 Budapest MTI in English 1854 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Budapest, November 12 (MTI)—A communique was issued Thursday on the November 11, 1987, session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which was held under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar. Alongside the members of the Central Committee, also participating in the session were the president and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the department heads of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of the county and county-right party committees, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee, the secretaries of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the members of the Council of Ministers, the leaders of the national authorities and the central press.

The Central Committee discussed and approved:

—A report submitted by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, on timely international and foreign policy issues,

—A report submitted by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, on issues of ideological work.

I.

The Central Committee heard a report on the Moscow ceremonies marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and reviewed the development of the international situation, and timely issues of foreign policy work.

1. The Central Committee approved the report of the delegation, led by Janos Kadar, on the Moscow ceremonies marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the extensive international meetings held on the occasion of the anniversary, and on the discussion held with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was an event that had the most important effects on the modern history of humanity, and set a new direction for the development of human society. The path covered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to date convincingly proves that a society without exploitation means the new historical opportunity of the development of peoples and nations.

The Central Committee highly appreciates the festive speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, the profound analysis of the lessons of the historical road covered, and the efforts which are aimed at the fundamental renewal of Soviet economy and society, the perfection of socialist democracy, the establishment of extensive publicity, and the exploration and utilization of the reserves of socialism. Our party and people follow with particular attention and sympathy the process of transformation in the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian People's Republic, all followers of social progress and peace support the steady efforts which the Soviet Union exerts to safeguard peace, establish reciprocal and equal security, promote disarmament, cooperation advantageous to all peoples, and solve the universal problems.

2. At their talks, Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev reviewed the activity of our parties, the experiences of socialist building and bilateral relations. The Central Committee stated with satisfaction that it was again apparent at this important meeting that our parties declare the same views in the major issues of socialist renewal and the international situation.

3. The meeting held in Moscow on the occasion of the anniversary with the participation of the left-wing and other progressive parties, and movements, was imbued by the common responsibility to solve the vital issues of humanity—peace, security and the cause of social progress. The conference also proved that informal, free exchange of views is necessary and possible under the current conditions between the social factors of differing party standing and professing differing ideological views in all issues which can only be solved through international cooperation.

4. The Central Committee stated that the East-West dialogue has become more lively and more substantive in the past period, and the international atmosphere has improved.

We welcome the joint Soviet-American announcement that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan are to meet in Washington in early December, and will sign, according to plans, the agreement on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles. This is a major step on the road leading to nuclear disarmament, and can establish greater confidence between the two great powers, the two military and political alliance systems. It further improves cooperation between the states and contributes to the security of Europe and the world.

5. The Central Committee attaches great importance to the fact that our relations towards the socialist countries have further developed in the past period.

The visit of Zhao Ziyang to Hungary, and of Janos Kadar to China opened a qualitatively new stage in the development of Hungarian-Chinese inter-party and inter-state relations. It was expressed at the talks that Hungarian-Chinese relations rely on principled bases, and both parties and governments consider their extension lasting elements and important tasks in their policies.

The visit to Hungary of Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and the signing of a long-term cooperation programme as the result of the discussions, served the deepening of Hungarian-Mongolian relations.

6. An important event in deepening Hungarian-Soviet inter-state cooperation were the talks held in Moscow between Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. The talks reflected our common intention to promote the solving of the tasks facing our countries by improving cooperation.

The Budapest talks of the prime minister with Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, his talks in Warsaw with Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, promoted the extension of efficient forms of cooperation between countries.

At the special session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance held in October, the representatives of our country encouraged the renewal of the forms and methods of cooperation, and the improvement of the economic conditions.

7. The Hungarian People's Republic continues dialogue, reciprocally advantageous political, economic and cultural cooperation with countries of differing social systems in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

The Budapest talks between Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, and King Juan Carlos I of Spain, and Queen Margrethe II of Denmark were held in this spirit. Common efforts aimed at developing cooperation were expressed at the talks.

The Budapest meeting between Karoly Grosz and Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, further strengthened traditionally good neighbourly relations.

The visit of the chairman of the government to the Federal Republic of Germany, his talks with Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and with other public personalities, and the agreements signed explored further opportunities for political, economic, technical and scientific and cultural cooperation.

8. We further extended our relations with the developing countries in the past period, on the basis of solidarity and reciprocal advantages. These efforts were expressed at the talks in Hungary of Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, and Mahathir Mohamad, prime minister of Malaysia.

II.

The Central Committee approved the report on issues of ideological work.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party strives to apply Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner. Over the past three decades a number of practical tasks of an ideological nature have been accomplished. It adds to the importance of ideological work that we live in an age of profound change and have arrived at a new stage of socio-economic development.

The domestic and international experiences of socialist development have only been partly generalized theoretically. The cultural level and political knowledge of the people have increased, and the ideas of socialism gained considerable ground. All this sets higher requirements to the quality of ideological work. People are more eager to have answers that strengthen their belief in the opportunities of socialist society and offer ideological security.

1. The implementation of socio-economic advance programme calls for consistent principles, renewable theoretical work, utilization of domestic and international experience, cooperation of creative forces and more successful ideological education.

Education and party propaganda should be promoted by the spreading of our ideas and world outlook and socialist building work and should increase consciousness and encourage action.

Varying conceptions can be formed on issues of building socialism, the necessity of certain concrete steps, and the evaluation of their consequences not only among people with a different world outlook but also among Marxists. The differences in theoretical, political-ideological views should be clarified in creative debates, on the basis of practical experience.

A firm and consistent fight has to be waged against hostile to socialism views inherited from the former system and partly reproduced, or which infiltrate from capitalist environments.

2. Renewal of the economy is a decisive element in the current state of our development. Ideological work has to regularly handle the laws of socialist economic development and the fundamental principles and values of its operation, and to promote a more successful economy. The practical transformation of the economic mechanism is, however, the task of economic policy relying on specialized branches of science.

In the foreseeable historic phase the socialist economy is a planned economy, in which crucial importance is given to the social property of production means which gives way to other forms of property and relies on the laws of

commodity production and market relations. The development of the production forces brings about many different combinations of property forms. Private work and private property may also be useful in satisfying social needs.

Development requires the increase of the productivity of labour, the practice of the principle of distribution according to work, and the restriction of the practice of egalitarianism.

3. Socialist building work is not devoid of conflicts of interests. Social controversies are to be resolved and socialist society renewed through reforms. The party has a key role in realizing the need for reforms and in their introduction, the time, pace and measure of which depends on objective and subjective social conditions.

The reform moves have to be coordinated and adjusted to the development traits of certain areas of social life. Reform should not be an aim in itself, but should serve the development of socialist society, the material and intellectual enrichment of the country and the rise of the nation.

The working classes, strata, groups and persons all have their specific interests even in a socialist society, but their fundamental interests are held in common. In the course of socialist construction the political power has developed from proletarian dictatorship into all-people's power. Power is exercized under a system of institutions where the party's leading role is realized by ideological-political means in cooperation with the various communities of society. The state and people's representation bodies and the representational organizations of social interests fulfil their functions independently.

4. Improving democracy is an essential condition for building socialism. The trend of development on the road to expanded socialist democracy is social self-administration in the Marxist sense. Effective administration of society implies that citizens participate not only in implementation but also in political decision-making. This imperatively calls for the knowledge of reality, social publicity, authentic information, control of execution and constructive criticism.

5. The ideology of Marxism-Leninsim includes the basic values of universal culture. It is directed at creating an order of social values, in which human collective relations are created and the human personality is unfolded and enriched. In the face of selfish ambitions violating other people's interests, a firm ideological representation of collective interests is required.

6. In our age the construction of socialism is a historic venture of the Hungarian people, the sole path to the solution of crucial questions and the rise of the nation. Our aims can be attained by social cooperation and persistent work serving the benefit of the community. National consciousness and patriotism is a major ideological cohesive force of our socialist society. In our world outlook patriotism is inseparable from internationalism. In the struggle of ideas we stand opposed both to nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Simultaneous observance of general laws, local conditions and national characteristics is indispensable for the successful building of socialism. Our development is interdependent on the situation of the other socialist countries and the universal cause of socialism. Mutual understanding, support, cooperation and the exchanges of information on practical experience are relevant elements of the socialist countries' relations.

7. In theoretical research and ideological work great attention has to be given to the new general issues of our age with priority to the universal interest in the survival of the human race which includes:

—guaranteeing of peace and security

—creation of a world free of nuclear weapons

—setting up of a new just world economic order

—protection of the natural environment, and all global tasks solvable with the broadest possible international cooperation.

8. According to the position of the Central Committee, the study of idelogical issues has to be continued in the party organizations and the social scientific creative workshops, and new conferences have to be held on basic themes. After the summary of experiences, the Central Committee will again include the question on its agenda.

The Central Committee appointed Imre Kovacs, deputy head of the Economic Policy Department, to the head of the department.

Prime Minister Grosz Discusses 1988 Plan

Seeks 'Firm' Support

LD121426 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Consultations on the tasks facing enterprises as a result of the government program started on Monday. Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and several government members in his entourage, opened the process at the Taurus rubber industry enterprise at the beginning of the week. Today, the prime minister visited Byor-Sopron County. Correspondent Gabor Bankuti reports:

[Bankuti] The prime minister's visit here was originally scheduled as part of his tasks as a party Politburo member, but he used the occasion to continue, together with members of the government, the exchange of views started in the Taurus plant on Monday. [passage omitted]

Laszlo Lakatos, first secretary of the county Party Committee said that on the basis of experience it may be said that the people support the government program, but are worried that past achievements may be lost. [passage omitted]

Before handing the microphone over to leaders of the firm, Karoly Grosz spoke about the purpose of his trip and replied to the words of the first secretary of the county party committee.

[Begin Grosz recording] This visit today is a peculiar one because on one hand, I would like to fulfill my obligations as a Politburo member. On the other, I would like to use this opportunity for the members of the government to gather opinions—now, before the end of the year—partly about things we might expect in the last days of 1987, and partly to get some idea about the system of regulations already known to the comrade enterprise leaders here. What can accelerate the system? What questions does the system leave unanswered, or fail to give precise answers for? Does this system induce processes that are not in harmony with our proclaimed stabilization program?

This is our second such meeting. At the Taurus plant we have already had a very useful, standard-bearing discussion, and we believe that this meeting today, too, will help us avoid the introduction of corrections, unless, of course, they are desirable. But to the greatest possible extent we should, early and in time, change perhaps our intention without particularly panicking. Therefore, the government will sum up the experiences of the exchange of views in Taurus. This visit, and the meeting organized for early December, will bring desirable measures before the end of the year.

Before anything else, however, I would like to say that I have heard with great joy that the political situation in the country—relative to current circumstances, if I understood this correctly, is balanced. Of course, it is filled with tension, but it still appears that there is relative political calm. This is very important because—I don't want to make a pitch for it—if we are to implement the program we proclaimed, which is contained in the July resolution of the Central Committee and on which the government program is built, we can do so only with firm political backing and support in the country. However, one thing is very important. It should be present all the way through—faith and trust in our having prepared a good program, or at least a realistic one. The program gives us guidance toward a way out of our problems, for overcoming them. Everyone should adopt this program and support it with devotion.

Today one of the most important tasks facing the government is our ability to lay down an almost precise, realistic, and accurate plan for 1988. If we are to handle this complex situation, the administration must adopt a new style of work. This will come about gradually. This is not something that can be done simply by deciding to do so, or simply by conceiving it as an idea. This must be formulated in the course of the work itself.

Our attitude is also being corrected by practice. We come up against our own impressions each day. Apparently, this is taking shape more slowly than the objective demand requires. It would be a good thing to shorten this time, but we cannot allow ourselves to move too fast. There are subjective limits and regulations governing the administration. The public cannot know about them, but they should be familiar with them. They should either be released verbally or put in writing. Modernization has constitutional timetables and rules. For example, according to the Constitution, the National Assembly must decide on the simplification of direction, and the cutting of grades at the highest administrative levels. Thus, before 16 December, when the National Assembly, before 16 December, we cannot make any decision that would be in contradiction with the Constitution. [sentence as heard] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Criticizes 'Extreme Elements'

LD122029 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Excerpts] The prime minister and members of the government have visited Gyor-Sopron County. Gabor Bankuti reports:

[Bankuti] [passage omitted] A debate was held with enterprise leaders, and it was opened by Karoly Grosz:

[Begin Grosz recording] Personally, I was very happy to hear that the political situation in the country is balanced in comparison to present circumstances. This is very important because a program of the kind we have proclaimed can only be carried out when there is firm backing and support in the country. However, there is one important thing which should be present throughout: Faith and trust that we have prepared a good program, or a realistic one, at least.

Today one of the most important tasks facing the government is our ability to lay down an almost precise, realistic, and accurate plan for 1988. If we are to handle this complex situation, the administration must adopt a new style of work. This will come about gradually. This is not something that can be done simply by deciding to do so, or simply by conceiving it as an idea. This must be formulated in the course of the work itself.

Our attitude is also being corrected by practice. We come up against our own impressions each day. Apparently, this is taking shape more slowly than the objective demand requires. It would be a good thing to shorten this

time, but we cannot allow ourselves to move too fast. There are subjective limits and modernization has constitutional timetables and rules. For example, according to the Constitution, the National Assembly must decide on the simplification of direction, and the cutting of grades at the highest administrative levels.

There is another stage of government work, namely, the modernization of the mechanism within the administrative apparatus and the ministries. This is proceeding in different ministries with different—how shall I put it—intensity or ambition.

The survey of the background institutions of government work will soon come before the government. This must also be changed, and this work is being done. I would, however, like to make it clear that there is, unfortunately, a misconception in the country. The misconception is that if we carry out substantial reorganizations in this area, it will have an immediate effect on the economy and on individual standards of living. This is not so. It is important to carry this out because it is one aspect of the development of leadership, the stepping-up of the efficacy of the ethics of leadership, but the struggle will be decided not in the government but in the factories. That is where the struggle must really be fought. This does not absolve the government of its responsibility to create, on its own level, the conditions for high-quality work in the enterprises.

We are now learning to deal with one of the toughest contradictions; namely, that if the 1988 plan is to be realistic, strict, and challenging, it will not be in line with the general concept of the program for resurgence. But we knew this from the very start, for we stated clearly that this program could only be implemented by taking a temporary step backward; this would enable us to move faster in the future. So from the perspective of mood or the political perspective, there can be no harmony between the requirements of the 1988 plan and the period of resurgence. But in the structural sense this is, I think, the perfect harmony, for it is the only way to build now: First, by stating that with stricter requirements we will take a small step back today so we can move forward in the future.

It is an interesting and new phenomenon, as well as a natural one, that the atmosphere is becoming polarized and we are seeing more extreme elements there than before. Threatening letters are also sent to the government, as well as to the premier, the deputy premiers, and others. This has been so before as well, but now their numbers are increasing somewhat. In my opinion, this will remain so over the long term. This is something we have to live with. It is impossible to introduce measures that everyone likes, that satisfy everyone's interests and endeavors, and meet often imaginary interests.

Within this, from the political point of view, there is another symptom that merits attention: The political opposition has appeared on the political stage, with a new method that differs from its earlier one. In a real oversimplification, we can say that this method is nothing but the compromising and denigration of the leadership and its work. They don't even flinch at the most baseless lies. Consequently, the country is full of false rumors. There are ill-intentioned accusations. Apparently, as the political situation grows more intense, this ill-will manifests itself proportionately. We cannot accept this; we must reject it; and we have the means to prevent it.

Those who think differently have a place in politics. But dishonorable methods must not be used by anyone. That is not the clash of opinions, but the commission of damage. The price for this must be paid by the people.

The very important political statement, that people want to work and are ready to work, has been raised, and it has also been said that they want to preserve the standard of living they have attained. Both elements are motive forces of the highest order. Leadership has a greater role to play here than is usually thought. Regardless of how diligently people may work, if their product is not sufficiently valuable, or sales activity is insufficiently organized, this great individual effort goes to waste.

We should not demand more things, but more valuable ones. We should demand things that are more useful from the point of view of the people's economy and society, and intellectual creative work must be given a much greater role in order for this to develop. [end recording]

[Bankuti] Karoly Grosz also spoke in detail about the status, task, and role of the technical intelligentsia.

[Begin Grosz recording] Let me stress an old obsession of mine here, namely that the key to resurgence is in the hands of the technical intelligentsia. If the technical intelligentsia is to be creative, more favorable conditions must be created both locally and centrally, and their work must be given both material and moral recognition. If there are barriers in this area, it is our duty to remove them. [end recording]

Central Committee's Nemeth Discusses Reform

AU120819 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 87 p 5

[Article by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Miklos Nemeth: "Renewal, Reform, Society"]

[Text] Even if to a lesser degree than the 10 days of the October Revolution, the dynamic changes that have taken place in the last 1 and 1/2 decades have again "shaken the world." Trends have emerged in the world economic environment which, in terms of size and effect, exceed all previous trends. A new technological and technical revolution began in some developed countries, a revolution accompanied by deep economic and social changes.

The rest of the countries—and these make up the majority of the countries of Earth—are in a disadvantageous position. Although several countries have started on the road of adjusting to the new demands, many countries are still only evaluating the size of the task and their own resources. The specter of rapidly lagging behind threatens many nations, while a new world economic order is taking shape in front of our eyes. Although there is no sure chance for a state that takes the road of development, one thing is sure: The country that is more farsighted and develops a flexible adjustment capacity that takes the changes into account will have more chances of success. A defensive strategy based on passively following events is doomed to failure. Today, those who idly and helplessly stand by and expect things to happen will experience the greatest fall, a greater fall than those who make mistakes in the process of adjustment. The former can lag irreparably behind and become isolated, while the one who erred still has a chance for success. We are remembering the October Revolution in a fateful age, because the socialist countries also face this historic challenge. The socialist system cannot avoid it. The renewal of socialist society is a prerequisite for development that we cannot and do not intend to circumvent.

In this challenge, we can rely on our most coveted heritage, on the creative Leninist view that crystallized in the revolutionary process that began in 1917. Leninism provides a good example of the fact that, in the history of ideologies, modernity and durability mean the same thing. The secret of the durability of Leninism is not in its being above history, but in the fact that it was able to adjust revolutionary theory to changing social and economic conditions with historic flexibility. If this revolutionary theory is bleached into an eternal truth and turned into a dogma, it will immediately become weak, the momentum of social and historic development will come to a sudden halt, and ritual will replace action. We learned this historic truth at the price of a bitter lesson, and therefore we should never forget it.

Leninism was and is able able to assert its goals only if it expresses the principles of reorganizing reality by starting from reality. One of the lessons of October is that only action which derives from a realistic view of reality will become a force that shapes history. If the action is not based on such a view, it will lead to serious consequences in which action is pushed to the brink of reality, and life will transcend theory. In the current situation, an important requirement is to refrain from acting in a doctrinaire way, blindly, and hurriedly, but to act on the basis of a multilateral and scientific analysis of social and historical conditions, an analysis based on experience.

This new political way of thinking is an organic continuation of the ideals of Leninism. This new way of thinking is striving to achieve unity between continuity and change, and connects the consolidation of results with the momentum of innovation and courageous initiative. This new way of thinking relies on confidence in the human creative force and on trust in the people. At the same time, this new way of political thinking takes up the struggle against disregarding accumulated problems and contradictions, against conservatism, self-complacency, and against all kinds of delays.

The victory of the October Revolution proved that the content, extent, multifacetedness, and honesty of relations between the party and the people, as well as the democracy of socialism, are the key issues of the party's leading role.

A development of fundamental importance for our people is that, in the spirit of the policy of openness and restructuring, changes of historic importance have again begun in the Soviet Union, changes that promise a new phase of development.

Soviet leaders are analyzing the causes behind the accumulated difficulties and backwardness with merciless openness. On the basis of these analyses, they formulated a new political guideline. The goal of the policy of restructuring is "not less, but more socialism" and the greater fulfillment of the population's needs, reforming economic management, and deepening socialist democracy are the main ways of achieving this goal

The overall acceleration of politics arouses our great hopes. New political institutions are emerging and the mass media have created public openness. Freedom of creation has been declared in cultural and spiritual life that is rich in values, and creativity is encouraged.

The turn of the century is drawing closer with great speed. In implementing a development strategy based on intensive resources, which puts qualitative tasks in the foreground, we must simultaneously ensure the dynamics of restructuring and the stability of situations of the moment.

So far, socialist development has essentially been a quantitative development. However, we can no longer advance on this road. Pressing such a development will lead to a dead-end and carries the danger of a paralyzing crisis and decline.

In this era, we must again face tasks that shape history. We have to achieve a level of technological development that can be based only on comprehensive economic, political, and social reforms. Therefore, the system of political institutions should be made suitable for working out and implementing these reforms. In the program of social and economic development, but particularly in the first phase of stabilization, a fundamental condition for successful implementation is to create a social atmosphere and political public mood that have an encouraging effect on economic renewal. This requires a different attitude and way of thinking from all of us and demands a comprehensive, pronounced, and firm reform policy.

Today, it is impossible to advance without a firm government, without the participation and control of a mechanism of representation of the people that comprises all spheres of activity, and without the independent and creative activity of the social and mass organizations.

Comprehensive reform has become an objective necessity. Today's reforms have nothing in common with the opportunist reformism of bygone days. The commitment to reform is not an alternative to revolutionism but the organic continuation of it. The man committed to reform is the revolutionary of our age.

Coming to the crossroads, Hungary and its people opted for development and comprehensive reforms. The party's program of stabilization and development and the government's work program provide a starting point for this goal.

The basic guidelines and trends of the chosen road are clear cut. However, today it is still impossible to see clearly all the details and even essential relationships in some cases. Nevertheless, we have to start on the road, and we can delay this no longer. On our way, completely new solutions are needed, solutions that should be found in the joint thinking of the political system and of the working people, because only in this way can we develop the majority will of the people and recreate public consensus.

We should regard the critical spirit as an intention of renewal rather than of upheaval. However, criticism in itself is not enough, it loses value by being repeated, and can become a demagogic slogan like flattery and self-justification.

New technology is transforming the work world in a revolutionary way. Many people still continue to perform tiresome and monotonous jobs but human labor is increasingly becoming a thinking and communicating activity. Production activity should be based on a higher professional level, permanent retraining, the assertion of democracy in everyday life, and on increasing the independence of enterprises.

Of course, enterprise independence should continue to be asserted within the framework of a central management and under market conditions influenced by government activity aimed at implementing the people's economic plan. Depending on the nature of the enterprise, they should be required to make efficient use of their resources because only thus we can fulfill the requirements deriving from the people's economic plan.

It is not the state but the given economic unit that should bear responsibility for the consequences of enterprise decisions and enterprise work. The enterprises should bear the responsibility for possible negative consequences until liquidation of the activity or of the entire enterprise. This concept also means that support for enterprises and branches with lasting losses should be reduced.

Only this way can we achieve a better differentiation of enterprises on the basis of their achievements and possibilities for development. This can cause resentment among those enterprises that are lagging behind; nevertheless, we have to take this road because only this road promises the opportunity of extricating ourselves from our difficulties. We should not yield to enterprises and employees incapable of adjusting to the new situation because, with this, we might harm those who produce outstanding achievements and the entire society.

In order to strengthen the entrepreneurial spirit in leaders, a social environment is needed that financially appreciates and politically supports such an attitude.

The renewal of economic management is directed toward increasing production efficiency and improving competitiveness. It has been proved that it is impossible to attain a lasting qualitative development in the economy with the present means of economic management. Subsequently, it is of social and political interest to further develop the entire system of economic management. It is necessary to create an economic environment that enables economic clear-sightedness, promotes technological progress, and provides possibilities for rapid adjustment. These intentions can be implemented only if they cover equally all the major elements of the development and management system, namely, the planning, economic regulations, organizational order, and the decisionmaking system.

Today it is a recognized fact that disregarding the value of the market and of the law of values will cause economic damage, and that the use of relations between goods and money provides opportunities for adjustment and advancement. Without the selective, encouraging, and forceful role of the market, it is impossible to adjust to the world economic processes and achieve lasting economic results. Therefore, it is our obligation to consciously develop the market conditions.

The development of market conditions depends on the gradual implementation of various conditions. There is an equal need for increasing the number of market participants, adequate scope, a balance between the purchasing power and the stock of goods, the elimination of the buyers' defenselesness, an equal orientation in economic regulators—among various sectors, branches, and organizations—the acceleration of ventures, and the creation of other conditions. Many of these have also political and social-policy connotations and effects, for example, the further development of property forms, the creation of property interest, the introduction of bonds, and the regrouping of the social capital and manpower.

Part of our reform efforts is directed at continuing the practice started at the beginning of the eighties, a practice leading to an enrichment of property forms. Our steps taken so far and our planned steps do not aim at reevaluating and limiting the role played by state and cooperative ownership but at making use of them and creating new forms that are more efficient than before. Our experience shows that it is necessary to ease the confinement of state ownership, to increase the conditions of organized cooperation between various forms of ownership, and to create new organizational solutions for initiatives of the people. For this purpose, we intend to enrich the forms of economic associations with which, among other things, we would open up the way for economic cooperation between state enterprises, cooperatives, and private persons in a joint organizational unit. The creation of new types of cooperatives is also under way, and a decision has been made also on widening the framework of private activity.

Each form of ownership has its role in our economy. Taking this into consideration, economic regulations strive to enrich the content of various forms of ownership, strengthen the integrating role of the socialist property and its even stronger development, and to achieve an equal rank between various forms of ownership in the course of their operation. We want to create an equal chance for competition between economic units operating under state and cooperative ownership and those operating under individual small-scale ownership. The issue of associations belongs here too. Forms are needed in which the investors—state enterprises, cooperatives, financial institutions, population, or foreigners—have the possibility of participating in managing and have ways for joint ventures. The role of associations is reflected in the fact that the participants' long-term interest is asserted here. This form gives the possibility for the advantageous alternative use of financial instruments and capital.

Creating property interest for enterprises and workers is an important effort of the economic management, an effort which was formulated some time ago. The goal is to make the economic organizations and their workers interested in using the assets at their disposal or in their ownership as effectively as possible. This can be asserted expediently in the long-term profit interest. In order to create such an interest, it is necessary to strengthen ownership awareness and to develop an economic environment and regulations that evaluate economic success and the efficiency of activity on the basis of property increase and the effectiveness of fixed and used assets, rather than on the basis of current results. Thus, ways can be opened to reduce the predominance of short-term interests currently characterizing enterprise management.

In connection with all these, possibilities should be given also for the flow of capital and the creation of a certain extent of capital market. The flow of capital enables the resources to stream into profitable activities. By this, on the one hand, production and production capacity can adjust more rapidly to the demands, on the other hand the financial instruments that are free for shorter or longer periods of time are not used for irrational consumption or unreasonable investments.

A considerable proportion of citizens are concerned about the manpower regrouping and the possibilities of maintaining full employment, factors connected with the underway structural change. In order to achieve efficient management, we should accept the tensions inherent in the elimination of unprofitable jobs and the temporary employment difficulties. It is a well-known fact that in the future economic conditions will increase the requirements for the efficiency in enterprise management. In some cases, this will require a change in profile and will justify the introduction of new products. Superfluous expenses in economic activity should be eliminated, and superfluous and inefficient work should be stopped. All these lead to an increase in the frequency of manpower movements within the enterprises and between economic units. We still lack adequate experience in providing a socialist solution to the comprehensive renewal of the economy, a solution that adequately takes human values into consideration. We have to work out these solutions now. The goal is to carry out economically justified measures in a consistent way, which can no longer be delayed, and by making sure that the workers and groups of people affected by these measures encounter the least possible problems and difficulties. Our common interest is to create conditions for more useful and efficient work; and, overcoming the difficulties inherent in restructuring and renewal, this will benefit also the future prosperity of workers currently employed in jobs that are not profitable enough.

We have to build a more just and more solid society based on a new quality of life and new values in the standard of living. Justice means primarily the recognition and encouragement of performance and of innovative and creative activity. Egalitarianism, which is a particular form of parasitism affecting more efficient workers, should be eliminated. Patronizing, something that prevents individual initiative, should also be eliminated.

At the same time, social assistance should be widened and social policy should be renewed on the basis of the strong feeling of solidarity and the requirements of socialist humanity. We have to build a strong society unified by performance orientation and the value of solidarity.

In order to be able to cope with the situation and to attain stabilization and development, we have to evaluate our situation, national capacity, and also the extent to which we can count on our socialist allies and our friends. Our socialist construction is not some sort of fossil containing events of the recent past and current events, but a lively, multicolored, and changing world that is being shaped according to uniform goals. The

results of socialist construction are at the same time the foundations and starting point of further activity. These solved problems guarantee at the same time the possibility of setting new tasks and new goals.

The development of socialist society demands the assertion of the party's role as political leader and its role in taking the initiative in the deliberate reorganization of social processes, and also the need for these roles to create public collaboration in accepting timely tasks. We can achieve this by openly dealing with various interests and harmonizing them. Harmonizing ideas and interests can lead to the establishment of a public consensus that will further strengthen our socialist system. That is why it is important to develop socialist democracy, modernize the system of political institutions, and view all those measures that support development from the ideological, political, and social perspectives.

Comprehensive social renewal can be successful if, along with the leading role of the party, the partnerships in joint and parallel activity of the party, state, and public organs become stronger. What we need is both state and public organs working in their area of activity more independently than until now, and the party policy able to integrate the activities in a general main trend.

This requires, on the one hand, an improvement in administration activity, an increase in the efficiency of central management, a clear delimitation of responsibility, and an appropriate division of labor. On the other hand, this demands a greater assertion of the roles of assistance and supervision played by the system of representation, an assertion established by an increasing social and public role of the individual, the increasing power and independence of various groups and communities, and by the development of workplace and residential self-government functions.

Among the central, district, and local party and state governing bodies and organs, we should create a much clearer distribution of tasks and spheres of authority than until now, and a division of labor that reduces parallelism to a minimum. By curbing the overgrown state administration and increasing the weight of the executive power organs, we should create a better balance within the state organization. We should strive to further decentralize state administration and strengthen the councils' self-management. The population should be informed on political decisions and the government activity in more detail, at a higher level, and more rapidly.

We should eliminate the practice according to which the party is the only stage of solving conflicts of interests and contradictions, because this hinders the normal activity of the system of political institutions.

It is also necessary to reform the practice of preparating political and state decisions. Taking a position should occur only at a relatively advanced stage in preparing decisions, when—aware of the opinions of the public organizations affected or the experiences of the public debate—the arguments and counterarguments as well as all the possible solutions are already known. Increasing the ability of leading organs to react, finding solutions to conflicts more quickly, improving the analysis of the effects of decisions, considering increasingly the interrelation between social and economic policy decisions, determining clearly the levels of decision, and asserting increasingly the responsibility of the decisionmaking process are important requirements.

In order to solve the difficult tasks facing the country, there is need for the patriotism of every creative and thinking member of society. In only this way can the party's development program and the government's stabilization program grow into a national venture.

Development has indeed reached a stage when it has to make use of the cultural and civilized values of 1,000 years of Hungarian history. Only one who is able to analyze and evaluate the historic past without nostalgic feelings can see the socialist prospects and tasks without illusions. We have to reevaluate and discover the ability to orient oneself broadly and the intelligent dynamism of the Arpad Kings, King Matthias' ambition and inclination toward action, Gabor Bethlen's sense of balance and efforts to economic and social development, Szechenyi's capacity of actions deriving from inexhaustible spiritual energy, Deak's creative sense of thinking in terms of compromise and his sense of reality coupled with the ability to survive.

Development cannot be carried out alone. There is a need for a new type of cooperation with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the revolutionary workers' parties, and with the various forces of the entire left-wing world movement.

The lessons of October still warn us that socialist construction has essentially national frameworks, and these frameworks should never become national obstacles, in any situation.

We are advancing together, and historical rules connect our fate. The Hungarian-Soviet relations are the key to the system of cooperation. Therefore, accomplishing restructuring in the Soviet Union is in our vital interest. Restructuring is an incentive that strengthens our obligation to carry out reform.

Paper Views GOSR Anniversary Celebrations

AU121510 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Nov 87 p 1

[Editorial signed by Pal Lederer: "Dialogue in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Is it possible to celebrate the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] in a nicer way than was done recently in Moscow? And mainly:

should we have celebrated it differently? Is there a more appropriate way to celebrate than lighting a candle to provide more light for remembrance? And is there a more rational way of remembering than having a courageous, thorough, and dialectic analysis replace ceremony and pathos? Can festive hospitality have a more substantial goal than making sure that guests and hosts are partners with equal rights in a forum of honest dialogue about the serious problems facing mankind?

Even if they did not shake the world, the celebrations in Moscow last week definitely again drew world attention to the land of the Bolsheviks. These celebrations were outstanding events of the revolutionary workers movement and of the international progressive movements in general. They opened a new age, the age of civilized dialogue, in the worldwide struggle to decide the great showdown of our age in favor of saving makind.

The renewal of Soviet society, the real continuation of Leninist theory, and above all the long awaited restoration of unity between theory and practice constituted the magnet that drew the representatives of political forces to Moscow, representatives who argue with each other on many issues, but agree on the need for common thinking, joint action, and shared responsibility for the fate of the world.

The very existence of the conference proves that the results and experiences of restructuring currently under way in the Soviet Union are important not just for the Soviet people. Janos Kadar stressed this in his speech at the international forum in Moscow. He called attention to the fact that, like Great October 70 years ago, the restructuring currently under way in the Soviet Union is also a world political factor.

Indeed, the prospect that the Soviet communists are determined to endow socialism with new quality provides a tremendous encouragement for understanding and solving the problems of our age. The Soviet communists do this by fundamentally renewing every aspect of the life of society and fully revealing the humanistic character of the socialist system. Thus, by creating a qualitatively new state of society, a more advanced type of socialism can emerge, a type of socialism that can give support to those struggling for a social alternative.

The special features of the nuclear age, the emergence of the problem of the survival of mankind, the fact that world economic relations are becoming more complex, the increasing mutual independence between various countries, the world becoming a uniform whole, and the increase in global problems illustrate new details in the content of the ideals of peaceful coexistence. And this requires a renewed analysis of tasks, renewed consideration, and the defeat of ideological schemes and stereotypes of the political movements. Because of the lack of ready-made recipes or, as formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev, the lack of Ariadne's thread to lead us out of this contradictory world, these complex tasks can only be solved through common thinking and joint activity. Only in this way can mankind pass today's mine fields to reach the 21st century, a world free of nuclear weapons and violence. The Moscow dialogue of the world's progressive forces was an important step on this long and difficult road, but nevertheless a road promising great excitement.

Leader of Solidarity Faction, Others Arrested

AU121414 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 12 (AFP)—Polish police arrested five people at Wroclaw following the detention Tuesday of the leader of a radical splinter group of the Solidarity opposition movement, independent sources said Thursday in the south west city said.

The sources said police Wednesday detained Mateusz Morawiecki, the 19-year-old son of Kornel Morawiecki, head of the Fighting Solidarity group who was detained Tuesday. The splinter group leader had been operating underground since the December 1981 martial law clampdown.

The sources said police raided a number of homes and also detained Andrzej Myc, a scientist at Wroclaw's Institute of Immunology, Andrzej Zarach, an employee of the city's Polytechnic and his wife Elzbieta.

The Fighting Solidarity network has already named Andrzej Kolodziej as its new president. Mr. Kolodziej, 28, was a co-signatory to the 1980 Gdansk accords, Mr. Morawiecki's daughter, Anna, said.

Mr. Kolodziej is known for having secretly travelled to Czechoslovakia in 1981 to set up Solidarity committees there. Arrested and extradited, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison but was released in 1983. He has since been in hiding.

Fighting Solidarity has no formal links with the Solidarity union movement which is opposed to violent opposition.

Further on Danish Foreign Minister's Visit

Meets Solidarity Leaders

PM121011 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Nov 87 p 4

[Michael Kuttner dispatch: "Instructive Meeting With Solidarity Leadership"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—Leading members of the banned Polish trade union movement Solidarity had breakfast yesterday with Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen and said they are very concerned about the possible repercussions of the economic reform plans that will be the subject of a referendum at the end of this month. They will not recommend that Poles vote against them, but will urge them to abstain from the vote itself.

Ellemann-Jensen had wanted to meet a handful of representatives of the trade union, which was declared illegal when martial law was proclaimed 6 years ago. Since then martial law has been revoked, but the ban on Solidarity remains in force. The trade union itself chose which members would meet Ellemann-Jensen, and it was, if one ignores leader Lech Walesa, who has a great deal of work as an electrician in Gdansk, the top circle of Solidarity which gathered at the table of Danish Ambassador Vagn Egebjerg on Klonowa Street in Warsaw. The group included former underground leader Zbigniew Bujak, former official spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz, plus Wiktor Kulerski and Andrzey Wielowiejski.

It was described as a private meeting, and the Polish authorities looked the other way. Afterward, though, the foreign minister described the meeting as particularly interesting and instructive. It was his impression that Solidarity's influence has not been weakened, but that the trade union's task is different today than a few years ago. The reason why the union is opposed to the reforms is, Ellemann-Jensen was told, that they are not far-reaching enough—particularly as far as democratization is concerned. [passage omitted]

Urban Cited on Alleged Spies

PM121445 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT in Danish 5 Nov 87 p 11

[Peter Bergen dispatch: "Poland Will Demand Return of Spies"]

[Text] Warsaw—If the Polish Supreme Court confirms the judgment against the two Danish reserve officers—sentenced for spying by a military court and released on bail—the Polish authorities will demand that the two Danes be extradited to serve their prison sentences.

So said Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban, adding that this is what will probably happen, because there can be no doubt that the Danes are guilty of spying:

"They have admitted as much themselves."

The Danes do not need to be present at the Supreme Court's consideration of the case, which will take place shortly. The Supreme Court simply looks at the documentation from the lower court and listens to the defense and prosecution lawyers. It simply has to determine whether the lower court has dealt with the case correctly, and whether investigations were carried out exhaustively and correctly.

"If the Supreme Court confirms the judgment of the lower court, the Danes will be asked to return to serve their sentences. If they do not do so, the Polish authorities will take suitable steps to get them to come to Poland to serve their sentences. We will send a document—not the fleet," Jerzy Urban said.

If the Danes are still not extradited the bail of 3.5 million kroner will be lost.

While the Danish Government has protested several times over Poland's handling of the spy case—most recently during Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen's official visit to Warsaw this week—Poland has not said a single disapproving word officially to the Danish

Government. Even though according to the judgment espionage against Poland on behalf of the Danish military intelligence service, FET, took place.

Jerzy Urban:

"Poland has refrained from making an official protest, motivated by the desire to improve relations with Denmark. We did not want to exaggerate an episode of this type between two countries which belong to different military alliances.

"Because of Denmark's geographical location it is a country with which we would like to have good relations. Even when it behaves unconventionally."

Asked whether the last year's three cases of reciprocal espionage are due to the fact that Denmark and Poland have a particular interest in each other's military comings and goings, Jerzy Urban replied:

"According to our counterespionage service, other countries' intelligence services carry out much more intensive espionage in Poland than the Danish intelligence service."

However, the Polish Government does not want to give Denmark carte blanche to spy on Poland without the risk of reprisals.

"I do not rule out the possibility that Poland will officially express its views on this matter to the Danish Government. This depends on developments in certain areas, but I do not want to say anything about this now," Urban said.

Poland has expressed the desire to Ellemann-Jensen that Denmark should work for a trade agreement between the EEC and Poland.

In Warsaw the Danish foreign minister complained that too long a time passed before Danish diplomats were allowed to visit the two Danes in Koszalin prison.

"I have looked into the matter. The embassy was informed two days after the arrest. This did not happen earlier because it was Easter. Our offices were closed, and the embassy must also have been. Thus, the international rule that such information must be passed on 'as soon as possible' was observed," Urban said.

Jerzy Urban also commented on Ellemann-Jensen's complaints of violations of international conventions.

"With many countries we have legal agreements giving concrete shape to the international conventions. We have no such agreement with Denmark, and so it is Polish law that it is used in legal cases."

However, Urban's information about Danish diplomats' visits to the imprisoned reserve officers does not agree with that in the possession of the Danish Foreign Ministry.

The Danish Foreign Ministry counted three visits. According to Urban there were six visits. He gave dates and the names of the visitors. For example, the longest visit, of 6 hours, was by Ambassador Vagn Egebjerg 14 August.

"The Danish Embassy several times thanked the Polish authorities for their help during the case," Jerzy Urban said.

Jaruzelski Cables Congratulations to Zhao

LD081652 Warsaw PAP in English 1629 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 8—On behalf of the PUWP CC, Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to Zhao Ziyang in connection with his election for the post of general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party CC.

The message reads in part: "We highly appreciate your activity for the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our parties and nations. We wish you, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, the CC and all the Chinese Communists, a successful implementation of the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party".

Jaruzelski Receives Swedish Envoy

LD112229 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 11—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Ambassador of Sweden Oerjan Berner who conveyed a letter from King Carl XVI Gustaf. The letter constitutes an answer to the Polish memorandum of July 17, concerning the reduction of armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

Sejm Views 'Inconsistent' Consular Operations

LD122229 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 12—The Sejm (Polish parliament) Foreign Affairs Committee met here today to discuss the implementation of the law on the functioning of Polish consulates, which has been binding for four years now.

According to the law it is the fundamental duty of consuls to defend rights and interests of Poland and her citizens abroad and to ensure them assistance in taking advantage of rights they enjoy—in tune with the law of a state they visit and with the international law and customs.

By order of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) controlled a few consulates and found out that both the scope and quality of performed consular functions provided for by the law differed considerably.

The neglecting of these functions was manifested by insufficient, formalized and inconsistent intervention actions of consular offices in European socialist states, mainly in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Romania, connected with complaints lodged by Polish citizens about their detrimental treatment by the authorities and law enforcement forces in those countries. The control showed there were cases of lack of any actions in connection with improper attitude towards Poles as far as customs duties were concerned. It contributed to promoting an injust opinion according to which all Polish tourists are traders and profiteers. Such a general opinion is unjust, the NIK report stressed.

Deputies also showed concern for problems worrying public opinion and concerning the treatment of Polish citizens by border services of various states, which is not always proper.

While taking the stand on the discussed problems, Polish Foreign Vice-Minister Tadeusz Olechowski stressed that 250 full-time and part-time consulate employees had a lot of work, namely 3 million cases a year. In this context one should know that the Foreign Ministry received only 103 complaints and critical assessments though this is also blameworthy. It has been connected with growing tourist movement (for instance, last year 4.3 million Poles went abroad whereas 3.8 million foreigners visited Poland) and with more liberal policy towards emigration, said he.

State Council Reviews Referendum Preparations

LD130023 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—Poland's Council of State met here today to familiarize itself with the course of preparations for the nation-wide referendum and displayed particular interest in the realization of tasks entrusted to People's Councils and their presidia. These included: Setting up voivodship commissions of the basic and district levels, establishing voting districts, public announcement of information concerning numbers, territory under a voting district and premises of district commissions.

While expressing its recognition to People's Councils for their hitherto good results in performing organizational assignments indispensable to carry out the referendum, the council of state stressed the importance of the participation of People's Councils and councillors in the political campaign for referendum.

Participants in the meeting assessed social efficiency of inspections carried out by People's Councils and the system of their cooperation with social and occupational inspections. Documents concerning cooperation with people's councils were submitted by the Supreme Board of Inspection, the General Prosecutor's Office and the State Labour Inspectorate. The information was supplemented with an analysis of the Chancellory of the Council of State.

While assessing inspections carried out by People's Councils, the Council of State pointed out that it was necessary to raise the level and efficiency of inspections. These should assume the form of supervision over the implementation of adopted programmes and decisions, and ensue from critical public opinions.

Inspections should be closely linked to citizens' complaints and their motions, opinions of residents' self-governments and councillors' questions. This should find a broader reflection in public information during meetings with voters.

The Council of State initially reviewed a draft version of changes in the electoral law to people's councils and mapped out directions of further work. It was decided that the draft assumptions of changes in the law in question would be prepared by the end of this month.

Under another point on the agenda, the Council of State familiarized itself with a report by the minister of justice concerning punctuality and correctness of courts implementing its 1986 decisions on pardon. Despite the generally positive implementation of the above resolutions, participants in the meeting pointed to a scarce number of cases when courts delayed respective proceedings or the transfer of appropriate information to the general register of convicts.

Next followed an analysis of the hitherto procedure of conferring scientific titles. The Council of State assessed that the legal system in force created possibility to step up the development of scientific cadres and to facilitate the procedure of conferring scientific titles. The existing irregularities are an outcome of not fully utilized possibilities created by this system.

Nominations:

Bernard Bogdanski to the post of Poland's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador in the Republic of Bolivia. Bogdanski will perform the post while being Poland's ambassador to Peru since his nomination in March.

Pawel Cieslar to the post of Poland's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador in the Republic of Singapore. He will perform the function while being Poland's ambassador to Indonesia since September.

Miroslaw Dackiewicz to the post of Poland's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the Republic of Botswana. He will perform the function while being Poland's ambassador to Zimbabwe since his nomination in October 1986.

Solidarity, Church Positions

AU121351 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Warsaw/Vienna—The domestic discussion on the 29 November referendum in which the population will be able to express its views on "radical economic reforms" and on the "democratization of political life" continues unabated. While the Warsaw leadership is spreading massive propaganda via the official media in favor of the referendum, union leader Lech Walesa has again called on his fellow Poles to ignore the vote. In view of the obtusely formulated questions, it is useless to participate in the referendum, Walesa said last weekend in Warsaw. The powerful Catholic Church, on the other hand, did not even mention the referendum in a statement at the end of the 224th plenary session of the Episcopate in Kielce.

An Episcopate spokesman justified this by saying that Polish citizens need no instruction from the church on such a widely discussed topic. In fact, political observers in Warsaw think that the church leadership obviously has the same attitude to the referendum as opposition members linked to the banned Solidarity trade union: That is, to simply ignore the referendum without directly calling for a boycott.

In their statement in Kielce, Polish bishops, too, stress the urgent need for profound economic reforms. These can, however, be successful only "if they are accompanied by changes in the social and political area." The government worked out its reform program without having heard the opinion of the entire population on this subject, they say. But economic progress cannot be "the work of a small group of decisionmakers but only the work of all the people."

The bishops' basic assessment of the situation in the country is as follows: "Poland is in a social and economic situation that is extremely difficult and dangerous for its future. Only joint efforts, which must not be shunned by anybody, can solve this crisis."

Pope Addresses Bishops on Krakow School

LD121850 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Excerpts] His Holy Father John Paul II today received—first in private audience and then at a joint ad limina visit audience—16 bishops from the Krakow Church, led by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, bishop of Krakow. In his address during the joint audience to the pastors of the Krakow, Tarnow, Kielce, Czestochowa and Katowice Churches, the holy father said, among other things:

I warmly welcome you all on your ad limina apostolorum visit, which you are carrying out in accordance with the 5-year pattern laid down by church law. [passage omitted]

Allow me, in this broad context, to touch on another matter, with which I was very closely linked in the past, as the former bishop of Krakow, and which is at the same time the affair of the church throughout the whole of Poland (?and) of the church universal. It is well known that the state authorities of the time liquidated the age-old Theological Department at Jagiellonian University, moving it arbitrarily to the Academy of Catholic Theology, opened in Warsaw. The Holy See issued a decree to the late archbishop, (Eugeniusz Baziak), which stated that the department, as a church college, still exists in Krakow, being guided by the principles of church law in the relevant sphere. Sice then, that is, from 1959-60, a great deal has been done to obtain the proper form and profile for the college. [passage omitted] I express profound gratitude to all those who helped and are still helping in this important cause. At the same time, I lay the cause of the Krakow Academy on the hearts of all my brother bishops present here, beginning with the great chancellor [wielki kanclerz]. We are the spokesmen of a just and noble cause; one might say, one of the causes which also determine the Polish raison d'etat. [passage omitted]

Church 'Concerned' Over Cultural Development

AU130944 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 25 Oct 87 p 3

[Sermon by Father Wieslaw A. Nieweglowski at the inauguration of the 1987-88 term of the Pastoral Ministry of Creative Communities in the Warsaw Church of St. Mary's Visitation on 4 October: "Area of Freedom"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Official pronouncements have it that culture and creative people are the only area of our reality which continues to defy the crisis and various dangers that are so strongly present in various other areas of our life, including the economy, society, the family, and so on, and so forth. It seems that, in its formulations, the recent public report on the condition of our culture does not deviate from the formulations used during the period of the "propaganda of success," and that were subsequently abandoned. Does this mean that success is continuing...?

The fact is that personal links in creative communities have been broken off on an unprecedented scale. The Catholic Church is concerned about the divisions within

the communities of creative people, which have continued to exist since martial law, and it is conscious of the break between the administration of culture and a large number of creative people.

Creative communities have been disrupted, and this is not good for creative people nor for the development of culture. The present situation has little to do with pluralism. If one wants to use this word one must qualify its meaning. Seeing how the community of creative people lives today and being aware of the emerging image of culture that has been proposed to us, we have to assert that pluralism exists, but that it is "licensed" pluralism.

The Catholic Church is concerned at the fact that many outstanding people of culture are unable to find a place in the structures created after 13 December 1981. For example, almost 50 percent of the writers who were members of the old Union of Polish Writers have not joined any new association or union of writers, although the most prominent writers are among those writers refusing to join. It is hard to agree that "too much work" or "opposition" are the reasons for their absence from the new structures, because the lines of division are not determined by political considerations and by the recognition or nonrecognition of the "Polish raison d'etat," but by the accepted hierarchy of values, the principles of creative people's morality and ethics, and views of the world and man.

That is why it is necessary to create conditions for establishing those unions and associations that creative people will be able to join and that will make it possible for them to participate in the full life of Polish culture and to maintain their independence. The fact that the Polish Pen Club is absent from the life of Polish writers and that the talks about allowing it to resume its activities have produced no result is a glaring example of the abnormality of the situation. It seems that nothing could be simpler than to eliminate this situation by making positive decisions. We must no longer prolong the temporary nature and spuriousness of the solutions affecting our cultural life.

Many people take the floor, but most often the sides actually limit themselves to pronouncing more or less correct formulations. In practice this is a dialogue of the deaf, which is made worse by the continued lack of mutual trust. [passage omitted]

Much is being said about the openness of the state's cultural policy, and the fact that previously forbidden movies can now be publicly screened is supposed to be the proof of this openness. The people are pleased with this, because they think that it is a sign that creative individuals can achieve the autonomy they deserve and can do their creative work in a normal manner. However, the declaration about "far-reaching modifications of radio and television programs" continues to raise doubts among people. All the time I continue to receive letters from various communities and private individuals all over the country who voice their opposition and concern in connection with the fact that television, cinemas, and the state press continue, on an unprecedented scale, to screen and publish movies, photographs, and articles that relish violence and brute force. Cinemas and the press continue to show nudity and sex in an importunate manner, one that insults the dignity of man and his body. This practice has been enormously intensified since 1982. [passage omitted] Could it be that the so-called decisionmakers mean to offer us such base and doubtful substitutes for the misery of our comprehensive crisis?[passage omitted]

Culture is a national asset, and we are all responsible for it. As the national padre of our creative communities, I have the duty to tell you about some aspects of the complicated picture of our contemporary culture. My wish is for cultural communities to be able to live and work under normal conditions and for culture "to cease to be an area of dramatic confrontations." [passage omitted]

The duty of creative people is to liberate man from various kinds of enslavement and to enable him to possess himself. As John Paul II said in his work "Faith and Culture," you should create for man "an area of freedom from compulsion, from success at any price, from claptrap, programming, and functionalism." [passage omitted]

Dorosz Statement on Foreign Debt, Repayment

AU121840 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 87 p 3

[Report by Zbigniew Krzsztyniak on statement by Andrzej Dorosz, deputy minister of finance, in Krakow; date not given: "The Current Foreign Debt Situation and Prospects for Repayment"]

[Text] Krakow—The Jagiellonian University Center for the Study of Debt and Development organized a national conference devoted to the question of so-called adjustment policy and its economic consequences for debtor countries. A PAP journalist asked Andrzej Dorosz, a deputy minister of finance who took part in the conference, to make a statement on Poland's current debt situation and prospects for repayment.

Currently, Poland's foreign currency debt amounts to somewhat over $36 billion. Two factors have caused this increase: We are still not in a position to pay all the interest on our debts, thus part of the interest (about 40 percent) is added to the debt; second, because we have become accustomed to expressing our debt in dollars, the relative increase in the debt (two-thirds of this increase occurred over the last 2 years) is a result of the fall in the value of the dollar.

As far as prospects for repaying our debt are concerned, then our policy in this area has to be divided into three phases. Since 1982, we have limited the rate at which the debt has grown. Since then, thanks to the balance of trade surplus, including revenue from services, Poland can finance part of the interest and repay some of the credits. The second phase of resolving Poland's debt problems will begin when our country attains equilibrium in current trade, that is, when it achieves a higher surplus in trade and services than hitherto—a level that is equal to interest payments. It is envisaged that a situation of this kind should arise at the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. The debt will stop growing. With a favorable trade balance, it will be possible to begin to repay the debt.

This summer we ended talks with representatives of Western banks on rescheduling part of the debt that was due. The banks agreed to a new and full consolidation of outstanding debts and their repayment over a period of 15 years. They also agreed to a certain reduction in the level of interest. We have also been holding talks with government creditors, the so-called Club of Paris, over the past year. The agreement that has been concluded regulates payments for the period from 1986 to the end of 1988 and spreads out repayment over a period of 10 years. The agreement is considered temporary and will lead to more comprehensive and permanent solutions.

We are currently allocating about $1.8 billion annually for the servicing of debts (and that does not cover all the interest). This is a significant burden—it amounts to about Z540 billion at the official dollar exchange rate. What must also be taken into account is the cost of obtaining dollars at a higher exchange rate, because part of production for export is subsidised. Were it not necessary to bear costs as significant as these, then Poland's domestic situation would be more favorable. It would be possible to buy more raw materials. There would be none of the production interruptions and standstills that occur nowadays. It would be possible to increase purchases of consumer goods. It would be easier to attain equilibrium. In a word, it would be possible to reform the economy under more favorable conditions, at any rate, without the strains that we are experiencing at the present time.

But perhaps there is a certain paradox about our current situation. It is best expressed by the following question: Would we have undertaken such far-reaching changes were it not necessary because of the pressure stemming from the servicing of the foreign debt and arresting its growth? Poland has no alternative at the present time. There is only one possibility, only one option. It is necessary to place the economy on the path of more efficient, export-oriented development. The new economic and financial mechanisms projected by the second stage of the reform should make this possible and thanks to more efficient activity, it should be possible to surmount domestic problems and facilitate the transition to the next stage of repaying our debts.

Ministerial Council on Property, Job Training

AU121310 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 87 p 2

[Excerpts] PAP — On 9 November the Council of Ministers examined and adopted draft rules meant to serve as guidelines for amending the law on accommodation. These rules are important for rational management of accommodation resources. The Council of Ministers altered those rules that have given rise to disputes and been subject to different interpretations in the past.

Mindful of the difficult material situation of private owners of apartment blocks, the Council of Ministers adopted a ruling concerning nonrefundable financial help for the maintenance of privately-owned apartment blocks. The financial help so far has not been enough to pay for essential renovation. Therefore, the amount of this help is to rise to Z500,000—payable once every 3 years. [passage omitted]

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning a uniform system of additional job training for managers of state enterprises.

The creation of such a system is part of the schedule for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, and is one of the moves meant to strengthen these managers' position. This is of increasing importance at a time when economic units are gaining complete independence. The job training for managers will concentrate on topics stemming from the country's present economic-political situation. The curriculum calls for instruction in the legal and political background to the functioning of the economy, the theory and practice of enterprise management, social problems of management, the financial-economic system of enterprises, ways of stimulating technological progress in enterprises, cooperation between the manager on the one hand and the workers' self-management body and trade union on the other, and other problems. By means of regular training sessions, this system should increase the qualifications of enterprise managers and other persons on the list of reserve managerial cadres.

The Institute of Administration and Management was entrusted with the task of coordinating the training of managers.

In addition, the Council of Ministers adopted a ruling permitting work resources and other durable goods to be included among fixed assets and concerning ways of revaluing them. The revaluation of fixed assets will be based on 1986 prices, and will be performed in two stages by the end of 1989.

OPZZ's Miodowicz Meets With Steelworkers

LD122309 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Members of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ have been meeting today with the work force of the factories that gave them their trade union mandate.

These meetings are devoted to assessing the implementation of the resolutions of the trade union congress on the 1st anniversary of its creation. They are at the same time an important part of the trade union consultation on the draft program for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, before the OPZZ Council adopts the trade union movement's final stance on this issue. It is a conversation about the opportunity afforded by consistent implementation of the reform and about the doubts troubling working people. This was the nature of the meeting Alfred Miodowicz had with the work force of the Large Furnace Section at the Lenin Steelworks:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker, shouting] It's incredible, to delude people the way it's happening with those prices. I go to buy an R-20 battery; a bit later, I go again and the price has already gone up.

[Miodowicz] Well, my dear people...

[Second speaker, interrupting] A negotiated price [cena umowna]...

[Third speaker, interrupting] Different kinds of speculation (?arise), because (?the customer) doesn't know now whether the price is the current one or not.

[Fourth speaker] How much does it cost—100 zloty, 200 zloty, 500? He says 500 and you pay 500.

[Fifth speaker] We'll soon be coming for money with suitcases, because it will have no value.

[Miodowicz] The trade unions do indeed have to defend working people very energetically now; very energetically, especially in socialized plants. If we don't look after what people have achieved in the course of many years' work, that is, the real value of wages; if we don't keep watch over social benefits—the trade unions (?have nothing to offer) working people. The trade unions must present people's opinions and have to take account of that opinion like no other institution, or organization or—I wouldn't like to say apparatus, it's a terrible word—any other ruling collective has to. I've been chairman of the OPZZ for a year already and I have to meet here with my parent organization and ask [laughs] if I haven't bungled anything, perhaps; because maybe I've bungled it so much that next year will be my last year of work [words indistinct] [end recording]

BRIEFS

Industry Official Appointed

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, acting on a decision of the industry minister, has appointed Zdzislaw Miedziarek to the post of secretary of state in this ministry. He has been the head director of the Cegielski Enterprise in Poznan since 1981. [Text] *[Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Nov 87 LD]*

Kiszczak Opens Opole Hospital

In Glucholazy, Opole Voivodship, a modern specialized hospital operated by the Internal Affairs Ministry has been opened. Medical aid will also be provided to residents of Opole region who have no connection with the Internal Affairs Ministry. This assurance was given by Czeslaw Kiszczak, who participated in the opening ceremony. [Text] *[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 10 Nov 87 LD]*

Satellite Equipment Supply

Warsaw, Nov. 10—Poland will supply a satellite being constructed under a Soviet-French-Polish project with a "Telstar," equipment used to determine the satellite's position in space and to set the Gamma-telescope on board it in the right direction. The "Telestar" was constructed jointly by the Warsaw Technical University and the Centre for Space Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences PAN and is ready for operation. [Text] *[Warsaw PAP in English 1205 GMT 10 Nov 87 LD]*

Romania's Ceausescu Continues Official Visit

Holds Talks With Mojsov

AU122055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, AGERPRES, 12/11/1987—Official talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrade Lazar Mojsov, president of the Collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia started at Belgrade's Federation Palace Thursday, November 12.

Attending the talks are Gheorghe Oprea, deputy prime minister; Ioan Totu, foreign minister; Constantin Stanca, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Dumitru Popa, Romania's ambassador in Belgrade, for Romania.

And Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign trade, Ibrahim Tabakovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, Boro Denkov, Yugoslavia's ambassador in Bucharest, for Yugoslavia.

Comrade Lazar Mojsov warmly welcomed once again in that format the official friendly visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the SFR Yugoslavia, showing it to be a new and relevant expression of the good relationship between Romania and Yugoslavia, between the people in the two countries.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu thanked in his own behalf and on behalf of Comrade Elena Ceausescu for the invitation to visit Yugoslavia, for the warm reception they were made, and stated his belief that the present summit dialogue will go down as a highly significant moment in the strengthening of the close Romanian-Yugoslav friendship and productive cooperation.

Nicoale Ceausescu and Lazar Mojsov exchanged opinions on the state of bilateral relations, on ways and modalities of further expanding them, as well as on current international political questions.

Stress was laid on the positive course of the ties of friendship, cooperation and good neighbourhood between Romania and Yugoslavia and it was assessed that broad possibilities existed to further intensify economic, technical and scientific cooperation and boost and diversify commercial exchanges. It was jointly agreed to elaborate a long-range programme for the more powerful development of production specialization and cooperation in production in domains of great importance for the economic and social progress of the two countries, for raising the economic and technical-scientific cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia on to a higher range.

It was stressed that the sustained promotion of Romanian-Yugoslav links on multiple planes was in the interest and for the benefit of the two countries' peoples of the general cause of socialism and peace.

During the talks current aspects of the international political life were also approached, more particularly those regarding the achievement of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, the pacific, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new world economic order, the establishment of a climate of detente, security, confidence and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Great attention was paid to the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Balkans, to the intensification of the efforts for the implementation of the proposals and initiatives aimed at the development of good neighbourliness and understanding between the Balkan countries, for this region to become a zone of peace, stability and manysided cooperation.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that a productive Balkan foreign ministers meeting would have a positive influence on the preparation of a conference of the Balkan heads of state and government, and help build up confidence and cooperation between the states in the zone, in Europe and the world over.

Stress was laid on the significant role of the small and medium sized countries, of the developing countries and of the non-aligned movement in the constructive settlement, in the interest of people, of the complex problems confronting mankind.

The talks are held in a warm atmosphere of friendship, mutual regard and understanding.

TANJUG Report on Talks

LD122248 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2047 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Romanian relations and cooperation are developing favorably and reflect the traditionally firm, friendly ties and mutual understanding between the two neighboring countries, Presidents Lazar Mojsov and Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in their first round of talks in Belgrade today.

Mojsov and his esteemed guest, who is on a 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia, noted the strong impetus given to the strengthening of bilateral relations by the frequent meetings of representatives of Yugoslavia and Romania at all levels, and, in particular, at summit level.

The two countries will continue to promote comprehensive cooperation, particularly in the economic and scientific and technical sphere, both sides said in the 2 hours of talks. A significant part of that time was devoted

to consideration of the possibilities for expanding economic relations, which are not keeping pace with the very developed political relations between Belgrade and Bucharest. Activities should therefore be aimed at making economic relations the leading form of cooperation, and to this end should tend toward developing higher forms of integration of the two economies—toward industrial cooperation, specialization, the formation of joint enterprises and joint activities in third markets. In this way, Mojsov and Ceausescu added, the plan of Yugoslavia and Romania, which is not new, for reaching an annual trade figure of $1 billion, as yet unattained, would be achieved. The two presidents are convinced that this could be done, bearing in mind the development of the economies of the two countries and their complementary nature.

The more detailed elaboration of these agreements was entrusted by Mojsov and Ceausescu to the respective ministries of Yugoslavia and Romania.

The talks were also used for briefings on the current situation in both countries. Ceausescu placed emphasis on the implementation of the 5-year plan for the development of Romania, while Mojsov spoke mainly about measures being taken here to stabilize the economy, increase production, and promote exports.

In the part of the exchange of views on the international situation, Nicolae Ceausescu made the assessment that despite certain positive trends, the international situation remains serious, particularly because of the arms race, areas of crisis, and the practice of certain countries of interfering in the internal affairs of others. He said that the upcoming agreement between the USSR and the United States on the removal of certain types of missiles will create conditions for progress toward new and important achievements, not only in nuclear, but also in conventional, disarmament. He advocated cuts in the enormous military spending in the world in favor of developing and improving the general climate in international relations.

Lazar Mojsov stressed that the agreement between Moscow and Washington is of great importance, because the nuclear powers have become aware that this weaponry should not be used. Thus, we have arrived at essential changes in the awareness of the great powers, said the president of the SFRY Presidency. The agreement will, in Mojsov's opinion, contribute to the strengthening of general confidence, particularly in Europe, and to the creation of conditions for the revival of certain principles of the Helsinki document for the development of cooperation on the Old Continent that have so far remained unfulfilled.

Cooperation in the Balkans was one of the most important topics of today's meeting. To develop this cooperation means to work for the welfare of not only the countries of this region, but also further afield, stressed Mojsov and Ceausescu. They both pointed out the importance of realizing the Yugoslav initiative for holding the ministerial meeting of the Balkan countries, which is expected to create conditions for even more comprehensive cooperation and better mutual understanding in the Balkans, as well as the realization of other proposals connected with the promotion of cooperation among the Balkan countries.

The two presidents called for a greater involvement by the international community in resolving the Middle East crisis, the crisis in the region of the Gulf, and other hotbeds of tension.

In connection with development problems, Ceausescu expounded the earlier Romanian proposal for convening a conference under the aegis of the United Nations, which would deal exclusively with these problems.

Both presidents laid special emphasis on the importance of closer cooperation among developing countries, in order to overcome the problems in that part of the world. In this connection, Lazar Mojsov said that the debtors' crisis was one of the most difficult problems facing a large number of developing countries. He told Ceausescu that he discussed the ways of resolving this problem with the leaders of Latin America, which he recently visited.

The president of the SFRY Presidency briefed the high-ranking visitor on the activities of the nonaligned countries and Yugoslavia's actions in this movement.

Lazar Mojsov and Nicolae Ceausescu will resume their talks on Saturday when, as expected, they will discuss some other issues concerning Yugoslav-Romanian relations, as well as specific barriers and problems encountered in bilateral cooperation.

Toasts Delivered at Dinner

LD130056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2107 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, and his wife gave a formal dinner tonight in the Palace of the Federation in honor of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife during which both the host and the guest delivered toasts.

In his toast Lazar Mojsov recalled that this is yet another in a series of open and friendly Yugoslav-Romanian dialogues at the top level that have become not only a tradition, but also a useful working practice to which we attach exceptional importance. Its importance is all the greater because we built it up continuously with a great deal of agreement in our views of the world and always with the intention of identifying the prospects that we, as neighbors, find suitable and that are of vital interest for the overall development of bilateral relations.

Mojsov stressed that the very principles on which this cooperation is based—and what is at stake is reciprocal respect, understanding, and the useful exchange of views on all problems of joint interest—are inherent in the frequent and fertile meetings between Presidents Tito and Ceausescu and in the basis and directions of the Yugoslav-Romanian relations. "In continuing this work, in the same spirit, we are in fact continuing the tradition of friendship and cooperation, open to any challenge of the future."

When good relations and their preservation are involved, no effort is superfluous, no goodwill exaggerated, no problem so great as to defy solution by combined forces, Mojsov said. This then becomes an essential prerequisite for the further promotion of these good relations and neighborly cooperation.

We are facing fresh challenges in economic cooperation. As much as we need to keep the feeling for what is realistic in this area, for its objective possibilities and also for certain limitations, we must also develop ambitions, discover increasingly strong motives, and devise new forms, Mojsov stressed. In addition, he pleaded for the development of technical, cultural, information, and border cooperation, where many good results can certainly become even better.

"I am also referring to the fact that the comprehensive development of the family of nations in Romania, and of the Romanian community in Yugoslavia, remains an important link in neighborly ties and an important motivation for our overall relations and cooperation," Mojsov said.

It is precisely in these joint areas where experience tells us that only neighborly relations and friendship can lead to peace and progress. Yugoslavia has incorporated this historic message into its policy toward her neighbors, and wishes to carry it out consistently and in a dignified manner.

Lazar Mojsov went on to say that the time of Balkan upheavals belongs to the past. For this forever sensitive and vulnerable area, in which various interests and alien influence have overlapped throughout history, nothing is as vital as the knowledge that the only acceptable alternative—the most extensive, varied, and equal cooperation—should be shared and be beneficial. This is the very cooperation that is being sought by the spirit and letter of Helsinki, which signals their direct application in the relations among all the Balkan countries.

Speaking of this I am also expressing the expectation that the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the Balkan countries will provide a fresh incentive for the policy of neighborly relations and friendly cooperation for the benefit of the people in this region and of peace in the world and also open the path for many other initiatives aiming at the general promotion of cooperation in the Balkans.

There are many more reasons in the world for both hope and faith in more favorable prospects. There is less tension and more readiness to tackle global issues in a constructive way, to use the dialogue and the wish to come to an understanding for problems of international relations.

The already agreed on and impending agreement between the super powers on short-range and medium-range missiles constitutes an undeniable contribution to this. Any further possible steps in the wake of this historic act will undeniably be even more significant, should they lead in the direction of overall reduction of all remaining stocks of nuclear arms.

In conclusion, Lazar Mojsov recalled that the areas of our cooperation, cooperation between two developing countries, two neighboring countries, countries that had opted for peace, cooperation and equality in the world, are broad. "The different international status and the specific features of socialist construction have so far not been a hindrance to our understanding and cooperation. This is why I profoundly believe in further Yugoslav-Romanian prospects, in our even more fertile cooperation."

In reply to President Mojsov's toast, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that Romania thought highly of the present level of Romanian-Yugoslav relations and considers it to be her "commitment to go on doing everything to make sure they develop even more strongly and become truly confirmed as exemploary relations between neighboring friendly countries."

The Romanian state and party leader assessed that in Belgrade now "some joint conclusions have already been attained on the need to strengthen cooperation and share industrial know-how. In addition, conclusions have been attained on the need to step up the development of economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other exchanges, in keeping with larger opportunities at the disposal of the two countries."

Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "as a close friend" Romania attentively followed "all significant achievements in the solutions of complex problems of the socioeconomic socialist development of Yugoslavia."

He went on to say that the Romanian people were very involved in the implementation of the decisions and guidelines of the 13th party congress on the socioeconomic development of Romania.

"We continually strengthen self-management and self-financing and work for the development and consolidation of socialist, state, and cooperative ownership, as well as for the increase, on this basis, in national wealth and income, the degree of prosperity and civilization of the people," President Ceausescu said.

Speaking about the present international situation, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "a new way of thinking and approach to questions of peace and war has been imposed, proceeding from the fact that world war is unacceptable, as it would turn into a nuclear catastrophe." "The essential demand of the present day is to halt the arms race and turn to resolute measures for disarmament, above all in the nuclear field, and the securing of the people's supreme rights—to survival and free and dignified life and peace," stressed Nicolae Ceausescu.

He expressed the conviction that the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit and the signing of the agreement on scrapping specific types of missiles open up prospects for new achievements in the sphere of disarmament and the halting of nuclear tests, as well as for the general scrapping of nuclear arms in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu called for the closest possible cooperation among all, especially European countries, in the direction of the complete scrapping of nuclear weapons. Within this context, he drew attention to the need for reducing conventional weapons as well.

The Romanian president also called for a successful outcome of the Vienna CSCE meeting.

"Our country consistently advocates the consolidation of cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, and the transformation of this region into a zone of peace and fruitful cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons and foreign military troops and bases," said Ceausescu. He pointed out the great importance of the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, convened at Yugoslavia's initiative.

"Romania also supports the efforts for creating nuclear-free zones in northern and central Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in other parts of the world," added Ceausescu. In this context, he called for intensified involvement of the international community in the peaceful resolving of all conflicts and controversial issues among states. He particularly called for intensified efforts for the realization of a global, permanent, and just peace in the Middle East and the organization of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations, which will be attended by all interested forces, including the PLO and Israel.

He called for the urgent application of the UN resolution on the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war and the political solution to the existing problems between the two countries, as well as for the withdrawal of all the foreign ships from the Gulf in order to ensure free navigation in this region.

The Romanian head of state and party stressed that the vital need for global resolution of the problem underdevelopment imposes on us—including the problem of developing countries' debt and the establishment of a new monetary economic system.

"We consider that all countries, regardless of their size or social system, should directly participate in the just and permanent resolution of the complex problems of our era, in conditions of full equality. The active participation of small and medium-size countries, and developing and nonaligned countries should be particularly ensured, as they form the majority of the world's countries and are vitally interested in the policy of cooperation, development, and peace," concluded Nicolae Ceausescu in his toast.

Leaders Congratulate Soviet Counterparts

AU121520 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Nov 87 p 6

[TANJUG report:"Turning Point in the Development of Mankind"]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, the highest-ranking Yugoslav leaders have congratulated the leaders of the USSR on their jubilee.

Among the telegrams are congratulations from Lazar Mojsov, to Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, from Bosko Krunic to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from Branko Mikulic to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and from Raif Dizdarevic to Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs.

In his telegram to Gromyko, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, expressed his best wishes for new successes in the socialist development of the USSR and for the comprehensive progress of the friendly Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, Mojsov pointed out in his telegram, marked a turning point in the historical development of mankind and has grown into a world process of the development of socialism. The ideals, spirit, and achievements of the Great October were and will remain the inexhaustible source of inspiration and revolutionary aspirations for all those fighting for freedom, progress, and peace, for democratic relations and international cooperation on equal footing.

Congratulating the USSR on the great jubilee, Mojsov also stressed his sincere satisfaction with the development of friendly relations and comprehensive mutually beneficial cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR.

"I would like to express our deep conviction that our friendship and fruitful cooperation, based on the jointly established and tested principles, will continue to widen and develop in the interest of the peoples of our countries, international cooperation on equal footing, peace, socialism, and general progress in the world," the telegram sent to Andrey Gromyko points out.

"During the seven decades of socialist development," the telegram sent by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, points out, "the Soviet peoples have achieved great results in material, social, and spiritual development. The process of economic and social reforms are creating in the USSR new opportunities for the development of production forces, the democratization of social relations, and for a better, richer, and happier life of the working man."

The telegram states that "the Communists and all working people of socialist Yugoslavia are following the efforts for the realization of these aims with great interest. On this course, we wish you success and think that this is in the interest of the peoples of the USSR and the development of socialism as a world process."

In the telegram Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, has sent to Soviet Premier Ryzhkov it is pointed out that the October Revolution marked a new epoch in the modern history of mankind and that it has started a process of socialist transformation in the world.

"The Great October Socialist Revolution marked an epochal turning point in the historical development of the world and has, through its spirit, ideas, and achievements, become a permanent property of all of progressive mankind," said Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of foreign affairs, in a telegram sent to Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the USSR.

Tupurkovski Ends Political Talks in FRG

AU121940 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Nov 87 p 6

[Text] Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, ended his visit yesterday to Bonn where he was the guest of the SPD. In addition to talks with a number of the leading SPD representatives, he held meetings with representatives of the Greens, an ecological-pacifist party, and the politicians of the conservative-liberal coalition in Bonn.

The FRG Government is ready to "encourage and support" Yugoslavia in its negotiations with international financial institutions regarding the long-term consolidation of foreign debt and the strengthening of the market mechanism.

According to West German sources, this was stated by Irmhard Adam-Schwetzer, minister in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in her meeting with Tupurkovski.

Bonn, she said, is also ready to support further improvements in relations between the EC and Yugoslavia and will strive toward this in its talks with other Community member states.

Hodza Expelled From Council of Federation

LD122032 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—Former Vice-President and Kosovo politician Fadilj Hodza was today expelled from the Council of the Federation by the Federal Chamber of the Federal Assembly at the recommendation of the collective head of state.

Hodza is the second high-ranking official to be dismissed from this advisory body of the Yugoslav Presidency this year

The first to go was Bosnian official Hakija Pozderac, named in connection with Yugoslavia's biggest post-war financial scandal involving the issuance of unbacked promissory notes by the Agrokomerc agro-industrial firm seated in his home republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Hodza was sacked on the strength of his political responsibility for the escalation of ethnic Albanian chauvinism and separatism in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In 1981 this culminated in counter-revolutionary riots there which prompted an exodus of non-ethnic Albanians from the province.

The Party Central Committee Presidency has proposed Hodza's expulsion from the party because, as the most prominent ethnic Albanian official in the province during the past 40 years, he is held chiefly responsible for the situation there.

The parliament today accepted the resignation of Transport and Communications Minister Mustafa Pljakic, once a member of the inner Kosovo party leadership.

Pljakic resigned after coming under fire from the Kosovo party leadership over his political role in the province

Chamber Passes Moratorium on Nuclear Plants

LD131120 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Summary] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today approved the proposal of the conference of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation that there be a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power stations, and called on the FEC to draft a law on this. It also approved a suggestion to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces that when the decision on the development of the power industry to the year 2000 is adopted, the construction of nuclear power stations should not be proposed.

FEC Report on Kosovo Migration Approved

LD112345 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Internal Policy Committee today approved the FEC's report on the implementation of the SFRY Assembly conclusions aimed at halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. By way of introductory remarks, delegate Redzep Hamiti stressed that actions undertaken so far are yielding results and supported this with the fact that in the preceeding part of the year, 50 percent fewer Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Pristina, previously a prominent area for migration, than in the previous year. It is also important, in his view, that pupils belonging to the nations and nationalities living in Kosovo, regardless of their number, are ensured the possibility of following lessons in their mother tongue.

As an example, Hamiti said, there are 21 departments in secondary schools in Kosovo with some seven pupils each who follow lessons in Serbo-Croatian. In primary schools there are cases where lessons in the mother tongue, Serbo-Croatian or Turkish for example, are held for only one pupil.

Hamiti drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs has analyzed 148 sales contracts between Albanians, on the one hand, and Serbs and Montenegrins on the other. From this he has drawn the conclusion that in 88 cases the funds for the purchase were secured as a result of many years work by members of the family abroad. In 37 cases, the funds were obtained by the sale of a part of or an entire property to Albanians, and in 8 cases from the savings of a number of people in employment.

In 11 of the analyzed sales contracts, the source of the funds was not firmly established, but there were no indications that the money of irredentists was involved. Enormously high sums are also paid, he added, in cases where both the vendor and the purchaser are of Albanian nationality.

Speaking about employment, Hamiti cited the fact that in the social sector of the Kosovo economy every fourth Montenegrin and every ninth Albanian is employed. Similarly, only 26.9 percent of Albanians have rights to the occupation of apartments, while among Serbs the figure is 70 percent, and among Montenegrins almost 85 percent.

Speaking about rapes, Hamiti informed the delegates that in the period from 1981 to June of last year there had been 157 cases of attempted rape and 139 rapes in Kosovo. In the same period in Bosnia-Hercegovina, for example, 251 attempted rapes and 679 rapes were recorded, and in Serbia even more—1,063 cases of attempted rape and 1,371 cases of rape.

Aleksandar Jovanovic noted, however, that rape in Kosovo is a form of special warfare because it is committed by juveniles. He also stressed that emigration is continuing and that intranational division is increasingly evident.

Bozo Kovac is particulary concerned that the situation in Kosovo is continuing to worsen, and brings into question the kind of measures we are adopting. Mistrust of Albanians is increasing and there is no public dialogue with them, which eads to confrontation on a national level. Kosovo, Kovac considers, is an extreme case of what is happening in our society.

A particular problem is the social rehabilitation of those convicted for separatist and nationalist activity in the counterrevolutinary events of 1981. So far more than half of those convicted have served their sentence and are now free. They have difficulty finding work, however, because Kosovo has 130,000 unemployed who have been waiting for work for years and have committed no crime against society. [passage omitted]

During the session, it was concluded that a realizable Yugoslav program on Kosovo, in keeping with the constitution, should be adopted as soon as possible. The greatest responsibility for the solution of the problems in the province are Kosovo itself, then Serbia and the other republics, and finally the Federation. [passage omitted]

Committee Discusses Anti-Inflation Program

LD102327 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 10 Nov

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—At a session today delegates of the Committee for Market and Prices of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces made a number of critical observations on the new, amended version of the anti-inflation program proposed by the FEC. Despite considerable improvements as compared with the first version of the document, the new one does not offer any clear cut measures to introduce a market economy.

The delegates stressed that the provision enabling the federal government to take direct price control measures against those who raise prices unjustifiably cannot be defended because of a lack of valid arguments. If the market regulates the prices it, at the same time, decides what is and what is not economical. Views were also expressed that, if implemented, this provision would be conducive to maintaining administrative price control and to the concept of controlled inflation.

Joza Globocnik, delegate from Slovenia, said that the Slovene Assembly maintains that the program as a whole cannot be accepted and cannot be used as a platform for pulling out of the crisis. He stressed that, in line with the provisions of the SFRY Constitution, he has the duty to advocate this view, but as far as he is concerned there is still room for negotiation. Stressing that the amended

program is a considerable improvement over the first document, Globocnik noted that the Constitution also gives delegates the right to express their personal views. The Slovene delegation, therefore, is still undecided on how it will vote.

Ivan Grubisic, delegate from Croatia, informed the committee that, in his view, the main recommendations made by Croat assembly were accepted. Speaking about the part of the program relating to market and prices, he said that money to subsidize certain products and services (agriculture, railway) should be provided by those who control prices, in other words, by the federal government. [passage omitted]

Defending the FEC's caution in introducing market criteria, Aleksandar Donev, federal secretary for market and general economic affairs, warned that at present there are about 300 business communities in the country with sole responsibility for pricing. This, in his view, means that a large section of the economy has no "proper" market characteristics, but is ruled by monopolies. Donev warned that the struggle against inflation is a priority task and unless proposed measures are implemented as soon as possible the rise in retail prices at the beginning of next year will amount to 220 percent.

Assembly Debate Deferred

LD121616 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1152 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, November 12 (TANJUG)—A debate on an anti-inflationary program which was to open in the Assembly of Yugoslavia today was put off for one day, so that Federal Premier Branko Mikulic's government could once again reconsider the federal units' objections to the document.

The postponement came after delegates of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia announced in the Assembly yesterday and the day before that their republics considered the second version of the government anti-inflationary program also unacceptable.

The Slovenian and Croatian Republic assemblies maintain that the new version of the document, too, fails to acknowledge the major requirements for a solution to the crisis—greater respect for market laws, greater openness towards the rest of the world and work organisations' and citizens' greater motivation to work better and more rationally.

Slovenia and Croatia demanded that the debate and the adoption of the anti-inflationary program be put off for November 26, but the session was postponed for one day only, since the federal government has no other program concept to offer.

Should the differences in opinion on the document prove too great for the assembly to be able to adopt the proposed program, the question of the government's ability may be raised, Vice-Premier Milos Milosavljevic said yesterday.

In (?case) minimum of agreement is reached on the program and the proposed changes, the government will draw a lesson from this, he said.

The one-day postponment is to be used for discussing the objections and further amending the anti-inflationary program. It shows the need to reach more than just the minimum of agreement on such an important document.

The anti-inflationary program is to be adopted with a majority vote and not by consensus, which speaks of the theoretical possibility of the government program being adopted without the agreement of Slovenia and Croatia.

Other federal units also had objections to the government's view on overcoming the crisis in the country. However, they have not assessed the anti-inflationary program as unacceptable.

The main objection is that the government's hesitance to introduce market conditions in economic activity is favorable to maintaining the administrative regulation of prices and the concept of programed inflation.

The Yugoslav press carries the same assessments. The Zagreb daily *Vjesnik* points out that the government's program will start with administrative steps, which is surprising since the introductory part of the program sets out that excessive administrative measures have contributed to the current difficult economic situation, *Vjesnik* writes.

The press underscores that the government has "forgotten" to specify by how much and in what time inflation, currently standing at almost 140 percent, will be lowered. The press knows that there have previously been cases of "forgetfulness" which resulted in higher inflation.

The draft anti-inflationary programme yesterday also failed to receive the support of the youth organization, which called on the government to assume responsibility for the implementation of the proposed measures. Underscoring that the federal government must link its further tenure to the success of the anti-inflationary programme, the youth organization specified that, should the government prove unable to carry out the programme, it must publicly identify those who had obstructed it.

Before today's turn of events, some economists had speculated that the federal government was keeping as a last resort a "secret programme" of only five items, instead of 126 as the proposed one, with one of the five items providing for a one-year price and personal-income "freeze".

Recalling the above speculations, the daily *Politika* sets out that foreign creditors, especially the IMF and OECD, have for quite some time been insisting on a 12-month freeze of prices and personal incomes as an initial condition for approving financial assistance to Yugoslavia, maintaining that the measure would provide breathing space for the government to take measures which would radically improve the national economy's effectiveness.

The Yugoslav federal government's last offer to the federal legislature will be known tomorrow and what foreign creditors think about it on December 2, when talks with the IMF will open.

Council of Federation Discusses Constitution

AU111912 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Report by Olivija Rusovac on the morning session of the Council of the Federation held in Belgrade 10 on November]

[Excerpts] The session of the Council of the Federation that had been convoked in order to discuss constitutional amendments and the Anti-Inflation Program was attended by 126 of its 160 members. At the beginning of the session tribute was paid to the comrades who had died since the previous session.

The session has begun in an atmosphere of discontent with the way the agenda was composed. It was recalled that the Council meets only once a year, that it has been pushed to the sidelines of social events and, therefore, has lost its reputation. Mirko Perovic and Mihajlo Javorski demanded that the Council be given the opportunity to work with full seriousness and said that they were upset by the fact that an assembly body has recently accepted the idea of abolishing the Council of the Federation and the councils of the republics.

After Lazar Mojsov intervened and it was agreed to continue the session until about 1800, the Council heard Marjan Rozic's introductory speech. Rozic said that the proposals for constitutional amendments are opening up perspectives for overcoming the complex social situation and that they are meant to ensure the continuity of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia. Presenting his introductory speech about the program of measures to reduce inflation, Milos Milosavljevic said that if the present increase in prices continues and if the economic policy parameters are not changed, we will have a 220-percent inflation rate by the first months of next year. Milosavljevic stressed that the consolidation of our debts and our contacts with foreign creditors to date are confirming the need to close up all forms of uncovered expenditures.

Mirko Perovic, the first participant in the debate, mentioned that our society's political tenets are not implemented because of the lack of unity in legal institutions. According to him, the LC failed to succeed as a cohesive factor, and, instead of it, the army appears to be a factor for integration in society. Perovic made two suggestions: to change the constitutional provision by which the full agreement of all the republics and provinces is needed to amend the Constitution, and to introduce into the Constitution a referendum as a form of decisionmaking with a view to overcoming parochial interests built into the present Constitution.

Perovic asserted that the draft constitutional amendments fail to answer any of the questions asked by the Republic of Serbia. Speaking of the fact that this republic has been denied most state functions, such as security, Mirko Perovic recalled a little known event in the Prekazi village in 1981.

[Begin Perovic recording] The Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs asked the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs whether it should help and the answer was: no. So they did not come. The Federal Secretariat men came. What happened [word indistinct] in the village of Prekazi was that two men, father and son, shut themselves up in a house. They were supposed to be caught, arrested, I do not know what. The two fired shots from the house, defending themselves.

Kosovo security forces and militia came, surrounded them, but failed to do anything else. Serbia had nothing to do with it, it had no authority. A special unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs came. The Kosovo militiamen let those federal militiamen go in front of them, closer to the house. Several of them were killed, shot in the back of the head. As a Federal Court judge, I had the opportunity to be sent, together with other Federal Court judges, to a competent place where the [word indistinct] instrument with graphs, everything [words indistinct] (?why) [word indistinct] had been killed. This was not publicized. Nobody knows that. Nobody can know that. [end recording]

Jakov Blazevic spoke about, as he put it, the media's perfidious attacks against the people and leading persons, something which Communists must oppose. In addition, they must also clear demoralizers from their ranks. He thanked the FEC and Branko Mikulic for their hard work, and called on the Council of the Federation not to allow itself to be lectured to through slogans demanding the government's resignation. Blazevic reminded the listeners that it is difficult to implement conclusions in our country, but that we are now ready to cross that Rubicon too. In that context, he congratulated the Serbian LC Central Committee on implementing the conclusions of its eighth session. [passage omitted]

Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo said at the end that the Council of the Federation is a dead body and that its sessions mean nothing. In his opinion, the proposed changes lead to great strengthening of bureaucracy, social differences, and capitalist relations.

More on Council Session

AU111913 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Report by Djordje Vlajic on the afternoon session of the Council of the Federation in Belgrade on 10 November]

[Excerpts] The afternoon debate at the session of the Council of the Federation was opened by Mihajlo Svabic who said that since the time when the practice that everybody gives and sometimes even sacrifices something for Yugoslavia was abolished, the republics have been ruling the country. [Passage omitted]

Federal organs sometimes adopt regulations that enable them to open the federal purse for everyone to take from it what he wants and what he can, Svabic thinks. He illustrated this with the Law on Exemptions to the [word indistinct] the Turnover Tax by which money for financing the Zagreb Student Sports Games was provided and thus more than 100 billion was uncontrolledly taken out of the Federal Budget.

Mitja Ribicic asked whether the Constitutional amendments offer any prospect for solving the crisis in which our society is now. Besides, he thinks that Jakov Blazevic's congratulations to the FEC and to the Serbian LC Central Committee can be interpreted only as his personal opinion, and not as the Council's stance.

[Begin Ribicic recording] We offer congratulations for the inflation, and even for the Agrokomerc affair, for the lack of vigilance on the part of this FEC of ours. I shall congratulate you if using the Anti-Inflation Program it pulls our country out of this trend. [passage omitted]

I do not agree with Comrade Blazevic's congratulations to the Serbian LC Central Committee for its session. All right, I do not know how the session was accepted by the Serbian LC, but I know how it was accepted by the Slovene LC. There was not a single LC organization in Slovenia that would fail to be critical of the problem of that session, in the sense that it does not understand how a center can be harsh about those people who are fighting against nationalism. [end recording]

Dusan Ckrebic polemicized with Ribicic, saying that everybody can hear his opinion on the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee depending of the volume of the information he possesses.

[Begin Ckrebic recording] The LCY Central Committee Presidium was informed in detail about the essence, contents, and course of this session immediately after its conclusion. As for its essence, having little time, I shall only say that it was to coordinate views on implementing the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session about Kosovo and the Action Program that the Serbian LC Central Committee adopted at its sixth session which also dealt with Kosovo. [passage omitted] [end recording]

FEC Vice President Milos Milosavljevic answered some of the questions asked during the debate. Among other things, in connection with Mihajlo Svabic's words, he said that the respective federal organs will carry out the control of the implementation of the Law on Tax Exemptions to the Benefit of the Zagreb Student Sports Games and that the Assembly will be informed about this. Milosavljevic also said that Ribicic's congratulations to Mikulic's government for the Agrokomerc affair are probably the consequence of an incomplete report carried in *Delo* that gives part of Petar Dodig's speech. It says that Branko Mikulic was informed about the affair with bills of exchange as early as April. The real truth, Milosavljevic said, is that not only the FEC president, but also other federal officials possessed information about the breakthrough into the country's financial system [platni sistem]. However, there were no reports on the affair with the bills of exchange, so one cannot call the FEC onto the carpet for this.

About Ribicic's congratulations to Branko Mikulic for the inflation, Milosavljevic said among other things that the FEC is not the only one to blame for the present price increase, but that the country's inflation also includes the valorized past work of the previous governments.

Concluding the session of the Council of the Federation, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, said among other things that the Presidency wants to develop the work of the Council of the Federation further, and that it harbors no opposition against the Council. Just as the members of the Council are concerned about the aggravation of our crisis, the Presidency is upset about it to the same extent and is of the opinion that on finding the solution one should gather together all well-meaning people, like the members of the Council of the Federation. Criticism, sometimes very harsh, expressed by the old revolutionaries cannot do any harm; it can only help find ways out of the crisis.

Croatian Assembly Assesses Economic Program

LD102329 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT Nov 87

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—The new version of the program for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy represents an even greater deviation from the proposals and solutions supported by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. This is the assessment made by the Executive Council of the Assembly. After today's consideration of the changed and amended program the Republican Executive Council concluded that

its proposer had accepted barely a single proposal of any importance, including the proposal put forward by the last session of the Assembly on 5 November.

In relation to the earlier version of the program three groups of changes and amendments have now been carried out. Nevertheless, the assessment made was that these did not incorporate the decisions of the Assembly on creating conditions for solving key current and long-term problems in the Yugoslav economy. The assembly considered and approved more than 70 proposals in this respect, on creating an open economy, and affirming market laws. The Assembly, like other structures in the republic, assessed that it is necessary to improve the program and in some areas to revise it completely, in order to transform it into an operative and effective conception for the stabilization of the economy, which is something that has evidently not been achieved with the present changes and amendments.

Kosovo Disputes Constitutional Changes

AU101248 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 87 p 6

[N.B. report: "No Agreement on 10 Proposed Changes"]

[Text] Pristina, 3 Nov—At its session held today, the Kosovo Assembly Commission for Constitutional Matters, while making some suggestions and proposals, decided to recommend to the Kosovo Assembly to support the proposal of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia regarding changes to 26 points of the Constitution. It was explained that these changes will contribute to the realization of the aims of constitutional changes contained in documents which represent the basis of the forthcoming constitutional changes. The expressed agreement refers to issues, which are of interest for the republic as a whole.

At the meeting it was also decided that a proposal be made to the Kosovo Assembly not to express a full or partial agreement with 10 points.

Serbian Committee on Media Treatment of Kosovo

LD101200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The critical and constructive approach to the Kosovo issue by the majority of newspapers has generally been in line with the fundamental party and state position on the situation in the province. However, there is evidence of considerable differences in the way some sections of the press treat some of the most important Kosovo topics: These articles often reflect the official attitude of the environment in which they are published. This view, expressed by Dragoljub Pajic in an introductory report, was one of the points of departure in today's session debate of the Committee for Information of the Serbian LC Central Committee. The main topics on the agenda concerned the current ideological-political issues of public information, with emphasis on media coverage of Kosovo.

Stressing that the number of articles which can be described as either ideological or political mistakes has been reduced, Pajic said that the eighth plenary session of the Serbian LC Central Committee was a watershed in the efforts to tackle the relevant problems with more determination. Nationalism, he added, is an issue too serious and dangerous to be countered by dubious and feeble action which would last no longer than 3 or 4 days. We have recently witnessed here in Belgrade a similar attempt at an alleged struggle against Serbian nationalism.

Communists in public information media must fight Serbian nationalism, Pajic said. He noted that there must be a distinction between those who are genuinely against it and those who, in order to profit politically, are opposed one moment and in favor the next. There is much of this kind of adventurism both in political and journalistic practice.

Frequent analysis of the type of coverage practiced by individual newspapers can be described as attempts at political imputations, Pajic said. Often, according to him, the editorial boards of several reputable dailies are among the victims.

Recently, Pajic stressed, *Politika* was suspected of neither more nor less than spreading nationalism. Without wanting to lessen the degree of responsibility for the mistakes and lack of moderation in some articles, he believed the paper's overall editorial policy should be taken into consideration. According to Pajic, in crucial moments this policy had been geared toward safeguarding the fundamental achievements of our revolution with special emphasis on national equality, brotherhood, and unity.

He noted that some of the editions published by *Politika* publishing house have given in to political divisions and the authority of self-imposed leaders and powerful dingitaries. Pajic called for a thorough debate to assess the editorial achievements of *Nin, Intervju, Svet, Duga*, etc., to provide the editorial and management boards with the necessary ability to carry out activity in accordance with this political moment in time.

Pajic stressed that the majority of newspapers truthfully described the response and positive mood among the public toward the eight plenary session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. The exception were those who openly opposed the conclusions reached at the session. It is indicative that the criticism expressed by some Belgrade papers and a number of papers in other areas to a large extent—and in some cases completely—coincides with the ideas promoted by reactionary papers in the West.

Not all public information media have contributed equally to the efforts to implement the LCY Central Committee's conclusions on Kosovo. Speaking about articles which expressed controversial views about and interpretations of the situation in Kosovo, he mentioned a research study on Kosovo by Branko Horvat published by *Knjizevne Novine*, Taras Kermauner's letters published in *Dnevnik* of Ljubljana under the headline "To a Serbian Friend" and reprinted by *Nin, Borba*, and other papers, and a speech by Bobrica Cosic which appeared in *Knjizevne Novine*.

Because of their editorial policy, Pajic noted, it is unacceptable and politically damaging to quote or reprint excerpts from these papers which previously have been denigrating our socialist revolution. The publications label supporters bandits, profiteers, thieves, and degenerates. Also they have been trying openly to promote the anti-Marxist ideas of Slobodan Jovanovic and calling for the publication of his works. In addition, these papers support historically unfounded and quasi-scientific views about the deeply rooted antagonism between the Croat and Serbian nations. Finally, the papers, without a single word of criticism, publish speeches by the authors of "the Memorandum," allocating them substantial space on their pages. To approve of or support this, Pajic stressed, is a serious political oversight which promotes vehement activity by both the "old" and "new" right.

This also applies to *Nin*, which has often been quoted and in a number of its issues has opposed the stand of the Serbian LC Central Committee and has ridiculed the capability of the working class and its vanguard to make good political decisions. *Nin* has, Pajic said, encouraged individuals to persevere in their alleged struggle against the working class majority in the LC. Instead of democratic centralism, *Nin* has advocated the anarchist-liberalist concept of interparty organization and consciously incited national hatred and revanchist tensions by publishing for several weeks and in a pompous manner Taras Kermauner's malicious chauvinist attacks.

Speaking about departures from the declared editorial policy in other papers, about attempts to foment an anti-Albanian mood and to promote a hardline, and about the onslaught of bourgeois ideas, Pajic said that the anticommunist campaign reached its culmination in the open attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, with the tabloid and youth section of the press in the forefront of this campaign. The activity on the part of the LC and other socialist forces in defending Tito's name and work has been skillfully used as an excuse to accuse them of attempts to "suppress freedom of the press" and to impose dogmatism and even Stalinism. The collusion evident among some papers—*Nin Student, Mladost, Non*,—and some editions of the Borba publishing house, has assumed proportions of an open campaign.

Taking part in the debate, Vojislav Micovic criticized recent talks between writers from Serbia and Slovenia in Ljubljana who, as he put it, bartered over Yugoslavia's future without authority.

Regarding temptations and pressures on the one hand, and partiality in the press on the other, Micovic said it is unprecedented for such a reputable publishing house as *Politika* to be accused of corrupting its political principles. *Slobodna Dalmacija*, he said even goes to such extremes as to claim, in a negative and tendentious way, that salaries of politika employees have been increased as a reward from the republic's political leadership for loyalty and devotion.

We have also been accused of making a list of undesirable journalists, he said. There is no such list, he stated, adding that it is a figment of someone's imagination, someone who wishes to cause confusion, fear, and conflict.

Calling for a more thorough analysis of the situation on editorial boards, Momcila Baljak said that the practice must end of debating the press only when an excess has been committed. Reaction to nationalism must always be specific, balanced, and principled.

It is my impression, Baljak said, that some articles, reports, and features play a dangerous game of ignoring growing divisions on a national basis, given prominence in Kosovo particularly during a number of gatherings and demonstrations.

Baljak also referred to an article in the latest issue of *Intervju* which mentions his own and Marko Lolic's name in connection with the case of Fadilj Hodza and in the context of a recent session of the LCY Central Committee's Committee for Information. Noting that the article ascribes to him views about matters he never mentioned, Baljak complained that often people's names, in this case his own and that of Marko Lolic, had been used for TV or press advertisements.

It is surprising, Djoko Stojsic said, how often the Kosovo situation is viewed in very simple terms and in a completely different light the farther one is from the province. In the case of the Trieste crisis and the issue of Carinthian Slovenes, the people in eastern Yugoslavia understood very well what it was all about. It is very strange that today some insist that they do not understand the Kosovo issue.

The decision not to publish an article headlined "Who Supports Whom" by Vlajko Krivokapic, editor in chief of all *Komunist* editions, was made independently by the Serbian edition's editorial board, without any suggestions or intervention from outside, Momir Brkic said. In the article, Krivokapic evidently denounces the Serbian leadership which, allegedly, is encouraging and closing its eyes to the activity by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists in Kosovo. Brkic, who is editor in chief of the Serbian edition of *Komunist*, said that in our view this kind of writing about Serbian leadership is irresponsible, incorrect, and can be interpreted as an unacceptable attempt to discredit it politically. The article belongs to that type of media reporting which thwarts

resolute action by the Serbian LC in solving both the Kosovo problem and other social problems. These are to the advantage of, primarily, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists, for whom disunity and an absence of action would suit. [passage omitted]

Vlastimir Mijovic, editor in chief of *Mladost*, the paper which during today's debate and in the analysis document prepared for today's session was on occasions seriously criticized, also took part in the debate. In Mijovic's view, the Yugoslav youth paper, which he heads, has the right to draw attention to cases in Serbian nationalism and to undemocratic behavior because, as he put it, the Belgrade press has been prevented from writing about events in Serbia. Mijovic's comment was termed as unacceptable insinuations against the Serbian LC and as a serious and unprecedented accusation with no argument to support it.

Skopje Assembly Debates Albanian Nationalism

LD112240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT

[Text] Skopje, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Mistrust, hatred, intranational conflicts, and intolerence have been a considerable burden on the political-security situation in Skopje. Albanian nationalists and separatists have stepped up their attempts to disrupt the capital's peaceful life as a direct result of indoctrination among the younger generation of Albanians, widespread support by the like-minded people from Kosovo and by the enemy outside Yugoslavia.

Albanian nationalists have used most sinister methods of ideological subversion, are poisoning intranational relations and are also trying to devalue our achievements in the political, economic, social, and cultural sphere. This was said today by Dimitar Sesov, vice president of Skopje Assembly, at a session of the Skopje City Assembly devoted to the measures of suppressing hostile activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Skopje security service and other organs have been taking, within their legal rights and responsibilities, organized measures against all forms of hostile activity. They have been successful in exposing the ideological platform of Albanian nationalists and separatists and eliminating the sources and situations conducive to their activity. In the last 9 months, security organs in Skopje recorded 38 cases in which statements of nationalist content were made, six cases of displaying symbols of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and 18 incidents of painting slogans of nationalist character. Criminal proceedings have been set in motion against 10 people including four who approved of the killings in Paracin barracks.

Criminal proceedings have started against Albanians who committed 16 criminal acts of feuding and sexual attacks in people of other nations and nationalities.

This calls for changes and amendments to be made in legal and other regulations in order to enhance the efficiency of state organs. The uncontrolled influx of Albanians from Kosovo is a particularly serious problem for Skopje authorities.

The program of various measures to suppress hostile activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists is good. It was noted that the main point of departure should be efforts to further enhance brotherhood and unity and not simply attacks on Albanian nationality. However, according to the delegates, unless the action is transferred to the area of everyday life and work, the working people and citizens cannot be expected to put in adequate efforts. The delegates stress that stricter measures should affect not only Albanian nationalists and separatists but also all those who hide behind slogans or choose to stand on the sidelines unwilling to react either promptly or decisively.

Kosovo Press Replies to ZERI I POPULLIT

AU101111 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Nov 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Nothing New From Tirana"]

[Text] It has now become commonplace for Albania, out of a supposed "interest in the fate of Albanians in Yugoslavia," to regularly and officially level accusations whenever a "pretext" arises, attacking our highest state, republican, and provincial authorities and their measures to stabilize the situation in Kosovo and to ensure a normal life for all who live here. This is shown by the bitter and unscrupulous attacks that have damaged, and continue to damage, the development of good neighborly relations between our two countries.

Tirana has done the same again on the most recent occasion, in the *Zeri i Popullit* article, also transmitted by ATA, entitled "The Problems of Kosovo Cannot Be Solved by the Police and the Army." Once again serving up untruths and hypotheses aiming to disinform public opinion in Albania and abroad, this article tendentiously comments upon the decision of the SFRY Presidency to send a special unit of the Federal Militia to Kosovo, even though, as the SFRY Presidency communique stresses, the dispatch of this unit has not been prompted by any specific incident, but is a legitimate preventive measure in response to the situation which has arisen as a result of the additional organized activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism and the organized activity of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism. Tirana seems to forget that every state has the sovereign right to care for order, peace, and security on its own territory.

Giving lessons to another country, telling it what steps should be taken and how things should be done, and worrying over Yugoslavia, is a serious interference of Albania in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

The claim of *Zeri i Popullit* that military rule has supposedly been imposed in Kosovo and that the civil government has been suspended was disproved to the world by the recent visit to Kosovo of foreign journalists, who had a close-up view the situation in Kosovo, and could see the normal functioning of every self-managing and sociopolitical body, and the efforts being made to further normalize the general situation. It would be hard to imagine that foreign journalists and photographers would be allowed to stay in a region "under military rule."

Albania's propaganda seems to worry about the imposition of a "strong hand" in Yugoslavia; this is highly ironic when we bear in mind the fact, well-known throughout the world, that a "strong hand" has oppressed the people of Albania for 40 years now, and that they have paid for it dearly. The people of that country know this best themselves, and it is difficult for others to understand it.

Zeri i Popullit, in the most peculiar and tendentious fashion, views the process of ideopolitical differentiation and the party measures that were taken against certain cadres who by their activity (or lack of it) contributed to the outbreak of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, or failed to commit themselves to combating it, and connects these measures with the personality of Comrade Tito and LCY policy, rising to the "defense" of what until yesterday they attacked and criticized most bitterly.

The fact that this year we in our country are formally celebrating the 50th anniversary of Tito's leadership of the LCY and witnessing our unswerving loyalty to Tito's road, socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, equality, and non-alignment, is the best testimony that the peoples of Yugoslavia and the policies of the LCY and of Tito want no foreign defense of any kind.

Zeri i Popullit's commentator further sees a "danger" for the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia from the "unitarist Serb lobby", and trumpets that this danger also threatens all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This "concern" of *Zeri i Popullit*, however the commentator of this mouthpiece of Albania's official policy seeks to conceal his purpose, is an effort to sow distrust and division among the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. His particular "care" for the position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, extending beyond the boundaries of normal concern, is nothing but paternalism, and intentionally "forgets" that the Albanians in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia as a whole enjoy equal rights with all the other peoples and nationalities, and that these rights and freedoms are greater than those of the people of Albania.

He forgets a question which really ought to be asked: What has happened to the rights of the Yugoslav minorities in Albania, which should be recognized under international law?

Setting themselves against the measures taken by the Yugoslav authorities to ensure security, tranquillity, and the safety of all the citizens of Kosovo, it emerges from the official media that the official policy of Albania believes that it is in its interest to promote the escalation of nationalism in Kosovo, and that the measures undertaken to impose order and peace and prevent possible intranational conflicts in Kosovo are not to its taste. Perhaps it bothers the Albanian leadership that the responsible authorities of the province, and Communists from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, are at the forefront of the process of settling accounts with every aspect of nationalism, and are aiming at the further stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

The incitement and support of Albanian nationalism, and insinuations that the steps taken in Kosovo to further stabilize the situation endanger peace and relations in the Balkans contradict the statements and commitments of official Albanian propaganda, and not by accident. Thus the farce of the commitment of this same official Albanian propaganda to stability in Yugoslavia and the Balkans, and to the improvement of neighborly relations, exposes itself. It must not be forgotten that no contribution to stability and good relations can come from foreign "recipes," insinuations, and interference in internal affairs, such as are offered by the *Zeri i Popullit* article, which says nothing new, but merely repeats the same old tune of Tirana's malevolent official propaganda.

Only mutual trust and respect for the well-known principles of sovereignty and noninterference, to which socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia has always consistently committed itself, can contribute to stability and good neighborly relations.

Kosovo Paper on 'Anti-Albanian Mood'

AU121511 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 8 Nov 87 p 7

[V. Surroi commentary: "Extremes"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is the bourgeois conception of journalism that strikes the eye of the reader most forcibly. Kosovo readers have had plenty of opportunities to notice a process in journalism in which they see what is called "a loss of editorial standards and an increase in political sensationalism," and even "the appearance of serious distortions, as well as in some cases the constant presence of unacceptable ideopolitical tendencies, the infiltration of anticommunism and nationalism, cliques, and the destruction of basic social goals and values."

Behind this activity is a basic conception of journalism that considers itself an independent social force existing parallel to social and political organizations, or even above them. This conception misuses democratic processes and democratic influences upon journalism, and loses all measure of responsibility. In seeking to evade

the "diktat" which marks the democratic movement on journalism, it nevertheless goes even further, abandons the basic values of society, and deserts the position it should occupy in this society. It has been possible to notice this tendency mainly in the treatment of Kosovo subjects, in which, abandoning all sign of a class outlook, matters have gone so far, whether in the selection of topics, or in attitudes toward the topics, as to sow and incite intranational hatred. The onesided treatment of Kosovo topics has often even led to the creation of a strong anti-Albanian mood, something unprecedented not only in our national journalism, but in the public discussion of intranational relations as a whole. [passage omitted]

Norwegian Minister Assured on Kosovo Albanians

PM121231 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Nov 87 p 8

[Stein Savik dispatch: "Albanians Will Not Be Punished"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov—In Belgrade yesterday, Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg was given assurances that Kosovo Albanians returning to Yugoslavia will not be punished unless they have broken the law.

Stoltenberg's Yugoslav counterpart, Raif Dizdarevic, declared that Yugoslav citizens—including those who have sought asylum—continue to return from the West without anything happening to them.

Stoltenberg raised the problem of the Kosovo Albanians who have asked for political asylum in Norway in a comprehensive exchange of views with Dizdarevic. In his description of the situation in the unsettled province, the Yugoslav said that both population groups—both the Albanian majority and the Serbian minority—are guilty of offenses against each other. Members of both groups are being punished, and tough sentences have also been made public in Yugoslav newspapers.

In connection with the Kosovo Albanians, the Norwegian foreign minister had already given an account of Norway's refugee policy. He pointed out that the number of foreigners seeking to remain in Norway totals 8,000 so far this year—almost 10 times as many as in 1985. This means that Norway has moved in the opposite direction to other Western countries. The rule is only to admit political refugees and those who are on UN lists.

Stoltenberg made it clear that people coming from Yugoslavia cannot automatically count on being classed as political refugees, although each case will be dealt with individually. People who do not fall into the category of political refugees will not be accepted. Those who want to seek work can do so through the usual channels.

The foreign minister expressed concern at the situation in Kosovo, but also expressed his understanding of the fact that the central Yugoslav authorities are concerned about holding the federation of the various different peoples together.

"Nevertheless Norway is concerned about human rights," Stoltenberg declared.

"We have heard that torture is used during interrogations," the foreign minister said. Dizdarevic responded that he did not deny that torture can occur. "But when this is discovered the official involved is imprisoned and this sentence too is made public here in Yugoslavia," he added.

During their talks the two foreign ministers stressed the traditionally friendly relations between the two countries that are based firmly on their common struggle during the war and the help Yugoslav prisoners received from the Norwegian people. Dizdarevic thanked Norway for supporting Yugoslavia's endeavors to become involved in Eureka, the technological cooperation program in Western Europe.

The Yugoslav foreign minister also said that Norway supports Belgrade's wish to achieve a general trade agreement with EFTA. Both sides stressed with satisfaction that Norway has become one of the biggest buyers of Yugoslav-built ships. The contract covers the construction of 15 ships worth a total of $250 million.

The Norwegian foreign minister began his official visit by laying flowers on President Tito's grave. The marble grave is in the so-called Flower House in the president's former residence. It was originally a greenhouse where Tito used to cultivate flowers as a hobby.

Serbian SAWP Considers Islamic Activity

LD111906 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Relations with the Islamic Community in the SR of Serbia have traditionally been good. However, in recent times, some negative tendencies have been observed which, unless promptly considered and thwarted, could lead to misunderstandings and worsening in relations. This assessment was made during a discussion in the Coordinating Committee for Relations with Religious Communities of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference which was attended by high-ranking representatives of the Islamic religious community in Serbia.

Reference to these tendencies was made in an introductory report submitted by Milorad Vidovic, who stressed that the wave of fundamentalism and pan-Islamic zeal had affected us slightly and that so far the Islamic Religious Community in Yugoslavia had been successful in countering it. The onslaught of these ideas, Vidovic specified, is linked with a number of imams educated

abroad. They are very radical in their demands and insist on pointing out Islam's specific features in comparison with other religions. Such tendencies are not in line with the Islamic Community's activity in the country nor do they comply with the spirit of the traditionally good relations. Neither are they acceptable for our socialist self-managing society.

Vidovic drew attention to the dangers of politicizing religion in general for our multinational and multiconfessional country, stressing that of late attempts have been made to formulate a specific platform of the Islamic community's activity in some parts of Serbia by using the position and the method of work of Islamic communities abroad, primarily in the Arab countries, as a model.

Young imams, educated abroad, are using their authority, it was stressed both during the discussion and in the introductory report, to promote new codes of behavior which, in Kosovo, are directly aimed at Albanizing the Muslim population. This aim is achieved by choosing Albanians only for imams and for the highest positions in the community of elders while by-passing Muslims of other nationalities. In addition, prayers and religious instruction are to a large extent conducted in Albanian. All printed matter published by the Community of Elders of the Islamic Religious Community is in Albanian.

In the discussion dissatisfaction was also expressed at the passive attitude by a number of imams towards counterrevolution in Kosovo and the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. Although their authority among the believers is second to none they have unfortunately failed publicly to condemn specific cases of excessive behavior on the part of Albanian separatists toward Serbs and Montenegrins. Such behavior by the imams deserves particular attention, all the more so as it is in contradiction with the fundamental principles of the Islamic religious community. The Association of Religious Officials and the Community of Elders of the SR of Serbia should discuss the issue with the imams.

The discussion in which Mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic, president of the Ulema (Association of Religious Officials of the Islamic Religious Community), also took part, also highlighted some of the problems affecting the organization within the Islamic religious community. Imams from Serbia proper have no representative in the top bodies of the Islamic Religious Community nor did they have one in the electoral commission which elected new Reis-Ul-Ulema [head of Islamic Religious Community in Yugoslavia].

There is also evidence of competition among various associations of religious officials in bulding new mosques and other religious buildings for this religious community. At the same time, the imams' activity in opposing social efforts to build a public infranstructure for the benefit of all of society was described as unacceptable. It is interesting that no one, including the representative of the Islamic religious community, knew how many, out of a total of 1,200 mosques in Yugoslavia, are situated in the Republic of Serbia or at least on the territory of Serbia proper, although Mufti Jusufspahic complained about bureaucrats who refuse to give permission for new religious buildings. In an economic crisis, demands by individual imans to have a mosque for every 500 believers are unacceptable, especially as it is the believers who would be worst affected as they would be expected to contribute to financing new mosques.